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RICHELIEU.

BY

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PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, CHARING CROSS, W.C.;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.;
26, ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, HYDE PARK CORNER, S.W.
BRIGHTON: 135, NORTH STREET.
NEW YORK: E. & J. B. YOUNG AND CO.

TO

WILLIAM BARBER, ESQ., M.A., Q.C.,

THIS HISTORY OF

CARDINAL RICHELIEU

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

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PREFACE.

The reign of Louis XIII.—we had almost said the reign of Cardinal Richelieu—is undoubtedly one of the most important in the whole history of France. To a casual observer the period included between the majority of Louis XIV. (1651) and his death (1715) seems the most brilliant part of what has been generally called "le grand siècle;" but the political and administrative theories which prevailed then were the result of the stern system of absolutism established by Richelieu and Mazarin; and the dull, dead level of uniformity noticeable as soon as the king determined upon acting according to the spirit of the maxim, "L'état, c'est moi," is far less interesting to the historian than the storms and convulsions which preceded it. For this reason the reign of Louis XIII. seems to us much more the representative one of the *ancien régime* than that of his successor: Louis XIV. merely worked out the materials prepared for him by the great cardinal, and trod in the path which, at the cost

of so much bloodshed, so much toil, so much persevering energy, had been opened up from the "journée des dupes" to the beheading of Cinq-Mars and De Thou.

If the events which mark the early seventeenth century in France are of a stirring character, the *dramatis personæ* stand out in equally strong relief on the canvas where they appear. The late M. Victor Cousin has admirably shown (*Jacqueline Pascal*) the difference which separates the original individualities belonging to those days from the mediocre, commonplace, *terre-à-terre* personages of the reign of Louis XIV. How superior Pierre Corneille is, with all his ruggedness, to the tame harmony of Racine!—La Rochefoucauld to La Bruyère!—Mademoiselle de Montpensier to Madame de Maintenon! *La mère Angélique*, the Pascals, Saint-Cyran, Father de Bérulle, correspond to the age of Richelieu and to the Fronde period. As soon as the regency of Anne of Austria comes to an end, we have nothing but pettiness in every stage of political and intellectual life, nothing but a series of blunders—the dispersion of the Port-Royal Jansenists, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; Chamillart instead of De Lionne, Vendôme and Villeroi instead of Condé.

The history of Richelieu's administration, we repeat, is one of transcendent interest, and, fortu-

nately, documents of every kind are at hand for him who attempts to write it. We have enumerated at the end of this volume the original sources contained in the various collections of memoirs; we shall mention here the principal *histories* which have been published from time to time. Father Griffet's is the sequel of Daniel's History of France; Aubéry's *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu* (1600 folios) is found fault with by Lenglet Dufresnoy, because "il fait le cardinal trop honnête homme et pas assez politique;" Levassor (*Histoire de Louis XIII.*, 1700–1711, 20 vols. 12mo) is a great deal too long; M. Antoine Jay (*Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*, 1815, 2 vols. 8vo), "montra," says the late M. Henri Martin, "un grand sens et un esprit vraiment national;" M. Bazin's *Histoire de France sous le Règne de Louis XIII. et le Ministère de Mazarin*, 1837–42, 4 vols. 8vo, would be excellent, if the author had written in a more animated style, and given references to the sources he has consulted. The latest work on Richelieu is Viscount d'Avenel's *Richelieu et la Monarchie Absolue*, 8vo, vols. i., ii., 1884, incomplete as yet, but which, notwithstanding certain defects, is certainly the best history France possesses of the cardinal-minister. The style is clear and terse; the notes, references, and appendices copious; and the standpoint at which the author places himself seems to us unassailable.

In preparing the present work, which has no pretensions whatever to originality, we have constantly had Viscount d'Avenel's volumes before us, and we gladly take the opportunity of bearing our witness to their great merit in point both of literary beauty and of historical accuracy. We owe much valuable information, likewise, to M. Caillet's conscientious monograph, *De l'Administration en France sous le Cardinal de Richelieu*, 8vo, 1857; to M. Perrens's *L'Église et l'État en France sous le Règne de Henri IV. et la Régence de Marie de Médicis*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1873; to M. Victor Cousin's *Madame de Hautefort*, and *Madame de Chevreuse*, 2 vols, 8vo, 1856; and to M. Paul Lacroix' *Le XVII^e. Siècle, Lettres, Sciences et Arts*, 8vo, 1882. Other sources are quoted in the foot-notes, whenever necessary. Finally, we have added a series of tables and other *pièces justificatives* which will, we think, assist the reader in understanding fully the chief features in the administration of Cardinal Richelieu.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL,
August, 1884.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

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1612.		Matthias, Emperor of Germany.	
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1617.	Concini murdered—Leonora Galigaï, his wife, burnt to death as a witch—Disgrace of Mary de' Medici —De Luynes rises to political power.	Sir F. Bacon made Lord Keeper (March 7), and Lord Chancellor (May 27).	The mathematician Napier *d.*
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1621.	The civil war renewed with the Huguenots in France, continues nine years—The Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint-Maur receive their statutes—Declaration of La Rochelle—De Luynes *d.*	Lord Bacon convicted of bribery (May 3).	La Fontaine *b.*—Cardinal Bellarmine *d.*

POLITICAL EVENTS—FRANCE.	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.	LITERATURE—SCIENCE—ART.
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1624. Disgrace of La Vieuville—Richelieu takes his seat at the Council-board.	Treaty of marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta-Maria of France.	Balzac (*Le Grand Épistolier*) publishes his letters.
1625.	Charles I., King of England — Spinola besieges and takes Bréda.	D'Urfé, Marini, *d.*
1626. Treaty of Monçon—Conspiracy of Chalais.	Battle of Lutter.	Lord Bacon *d.*—The *Jardin des Plantes* established in Paris.—The rebuilding of the Sorbonne begun.—Mme. de Sévigné *b.*
1627. The offices of High Constable and High Admiral suppressed—Duel between Bouteville and Beuvron.	Sir Thomas Wentworth imprisoned.	Petau publishes his *De Doctrina Temporum*—James Gruter *d.*—Bossuet *b.*
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1629. Peace restored between France and England—Louis XIII. in Italy—The *Code Michau* promulgated.	Parliament dissolved in England.	Malherbe *d.* — Pierre Corneille brings out his first play, *Mélite.*
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1631. Mary de' Medici retires to Brussels.	Battle of Leipzic gained by Gustavus Adolphus.	Kepler *d.*—Renaudot publishes his *Gazette.*
1632. Battles of Lutzen and of Castelnaudary—Marshal Marillac condemned to death.	Gustavus Adolphus killed at Lutzen.	
1633. St. Vincent de Paul organizes his association of Sisters of Charity.	King Charles crowned at Edinburgh—Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.	Abjuration of Galileo—Archbishop Abbot *d.*
1634. Urbain Grandier burnt to death.	Battle of Nordlingen—Wallenstein murdered.	Sir Edward Coke *d.*
1635. War in the Valteline—Battle of Avein.	Peace of Prague.	Lopes de Vega, Callot, *d.*—The *Académie Française* created.

POLITICAL EVENTS—FRANCE.	FOREIGN COUNTRIES.	LITERATURE—SCIENCE—ART.
1636. Treaty between France and Sweden—Siege of Corbie —Terror in Paris.		*Le Cid* brought out—Boileau Despreaux *b.* —Port Royal founded.
1637.	Ferdinand III., Emperor of Germany—Prynne and others pilloried—Riots in Edinburgh.	Descartes publishes his *Discours de la Méthode.*
1638. Father Joseph (*l'éminence grise*) *d.*— Saint Cyran arrested and sent to prison —The Dupuys publish their work *Des Libertés de l'Église Gallicane.*	Brilliant campaign of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar in Alsace—Episcopacy abolished in Scotland.	Ben Jonson *d.*—Duke de Rohan *d.*
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1640. Arras taken by the French —Count d'Harcourt defeats the Marquis de Léganez at Casale.	The "Long Parliament" meets.	Rubens *d.*—*Polyeucte* brought out—Poussin made first painter to the King of France —The *Imprimerie Royale* founded.
1641. Battle of La Marfée.	The Earl of Strafford beheaded (May 11).	Domenichino Zampieri, Spelman, *d.*
1642. Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars—Cardinal Richelieu *d.*	Battle of Edgehill (Oct. 23).	Galileo, Guido Rheni, *d.*
1643. Louis XIII. *d.*—The Duke d'Enghein (afterwards Prince de Condé) defeats the Spaniards at Rocroy.	John Hampden killed at Chalgrove—First battle of Newbury (Sept. 20).	Gaspar (Count,—Duke d'Olivarès), John Pym, Viscount Falkland, *d.*

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The sign (§) *means a reference to the notes at the end of the volume.*

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS—THE FRENCH COURT.

Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu was the son of François du Plessis de Richelieu, and of Susanne de la Porte. Born at the family mansion in Poitou,* September 5, 1586, he seemed destined to follow the military profession, and, like most *cadets de famille*, to say—

> "The world's mine oyster
> Which I with sword will open."

It so happened, however, that one of his brothers, Bishop of Luçon, having become a Carthusian friar, young Armand felt in a manner obliged to take orders, so that the episcopal see, which was a kind of heirloom, might not pass into another house, together with the income and other advantages resulting from it. Henry IV., then King of France, nominated him accordingly, and the ambassador

* And not, as some say, in Paris; see *Biog. Universelle, s.v.* "Richelieu."

at Rome was directed to negotiate the affair with the authorities at the Vatican. Richelieu was only twenty years and a few months old at that time, and the appointment of so young a prelate met with no small difficulties. The candidate had to enter an appearance at the Papal court; and a Latin sermon which he pronounced before Paul V. was so striking, that the necessary bulls of institution were granted at last. The ceremony of consecration took place April 17, 1607.

On his return to the diocese of Luçon, Richelieu gave up his whole attention to the reformation of disorders which had reached a deplorable pitch in the Gallican Church, and which were the sad result of a long series of civil wars. The clergy were as scandalous in their way of living as they were remiss in the discharge of their duties: if they happened to be rich, they spent most of their time in hunting; whilst the poorer curates took to drinking, and were often seen standing at the entrance door of the dilapidated churches, dressed in their surplices and carousing with the parishioners. Misdemeanours of the grossest kind were of daily occurrence, the name of priest had become the synonym of ignorance and dissoluteness, and the well-known Abbé Bourdoise might say without exaggeration, "All the worst deeds in this world are those which are done by clergymen." * How could

* On the state of the clergy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see the authorities quoted by M. Houssaye; also M. Jacquinet's *Des Prédicateurs du XVII^e Siècle avant Bossuet*, pp. 97–115.

such a state of things be remedied when the bishops themselves set the example of carelessness and indifference to their responsibilities? A few amongst them indeed merited and obtained the respect and affection of the flock over which they had been appointed, but they formed a very small minority. The biography of Cardinal de Bérulle names *nine*.

Simony was rampant; belonging for the greater part to the nobility, compelled to enter the Church because they were the younger sons of illustrious families, or for the reason that they suffered from some infirmity which disqualified them for the engagements of active life,* the future spiritual guides of the nation took orders as a *pis-aller*, and with the firm intention of looking as little clerical as they possibly could. Passing on without the slightest transition from the pleasures of the court to the severe duties of the priesthood, they were as little inclined to asceticism or even to decency as can be imagined.(§) Duelling was with them a favourite recreation, and, as for pluralism, they were so accustomed to regard it as a matter of course that Cardinal de Joyeuse, one of the most respectable of the prelates of those days, blameless as to his morals, and of exemplary piety, left at his death (1615) *six* vacant abbeys, namely Fécamp, Saint Martin de Pontoise, Mont Saint Michel, Notre Dame de Chambres, Laulne and Juilly.

* "Le Cardinal de Sourdis qui estoit l'aisné de tous, fut d'église à cause qu'il estoit menacé d'épilepsie" (Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, II. xciii. p. 338).

Whilst the Huguenots had separated themselves entirely from a religious establishment apparently too thoroughly eaten up by abuses to stand the process of mere reformation, the most thoughtful and influential representatives of the old ecclesiastical system endeavoured by prompt and intelligent action to take away from the dissenters all excuses for what they deemed their schismatic course. In his life of Pierre de Bérulle, the late Abbé Houssaye has given us an appalling picture of the Church of France about the beginning of the seventeenth century,* and of the efforts made by men such as Vincent de Paul, Olier, Saint-Cyran, and Bérulle himself to put down the crying evils which were threatening to bring about its destruction; Richelieu, we may suppose, was not actuated by the same Christian motives, but he had a strong notion of justice, and especially that sense of order and propriety which feels irritated and annoyed by the slightest appearance of irregularity. He knew both his rights and his duties; he was determined to maintain the former, and to carry out the latter to the best of his abilities.

The first political act in which Richelieu had to play a part, was on the occasion of the meeting of the States-General in 1614, where he took his seat as deputy of the clergy of Poitou. His eloquence and talent must have been, even at that early time, a matter of notoriety, for he was selected as the spokesman of the ecclesiastical deputies, and, in

* *Le Père de Bérulle et l'Oratoire de Jésus*, pp. 1 and following.

that capacity, he delivered in the presence of the Queen-Regent, Mary de' Medici, on the 23rd of February, 1615, the usual address on submitting to her the *cahiers* of the clergy.* The chief points he had to dwell upon in his speech were—first, the question whether the decisions of the Council of Trent should be accepted or not, within the limits of the realm; and secondly, the restitution of certain Church lands in the province of Béarn. Richelieu cleverly managed to give to his address a general character; he showed with much eloquence the desirability of calling ecclesiastics of high rank to take a part in the councils of the Crown, "thus writing," as M. de Rémusat wittily observes, "the preface to his own history." From the point of view of mere style Richelieu's discourse deserves the closest study, and its beauty as a piece of writing is apparent if we simply compare it with specimens of the eloquence which was deemed so fashionable at that time. Read the *orations* which secured such reputation to Le Maître, Arnauld, and Marion; see these gentlemen invoking the philosopher Crantor, and calling Apollo to witness in the case of a pastry-cook accused of murder, and then turn to the Bishop of Luçon's address, clear, sensible, to the point, without metaphors or other figures of speech; the contrast is perfectly wonderful.† Although he was even at this time thinking of

* The *cahiers* were the books containing the statements of grievances, suggestions, petitions, etc., presented to the Crown by the three orders of the State.

† On the pulpit and forensic eloquence of the reigns of Henry

the future, he did not sacrifice to paltry ambitious views the interests which had been committed to him by the clergy of France; careful not to give offence to any one, he dexterously appealed to the queen-mother as the person naturally the best qualified to give to the States-General the satisfactions they required. We shall quote an extract from this speech:—

"We believe, madam, that you will forget nothing to contrive that this assembly, called together by your counsel, may result in our advantage; the evils which weigh down upon us invite you so to do; your affection for us urges you to it; your honour and that of the king (which is so dear to you) require it, and the interest of your consciences compel you both. That is why, sire, we entreat all the more boldly your majesty not to dismiss us from your presence without allowing us to take away with us to our provinces wherewith to satisfy their expectation, and relieve them in their misery.

"But what am I doing? I ask what we are perfectly sure of, since you have oftentimes promised it to us, and we know that your words are, as they should be, equally sacred and inviolable as your person.

"You have promised it to us; nay, more, you allow us, with that view, to delegate some of our own body to assist those who, as early as to-

IV. and Louis XIII., see especially Sainte-Beuve's *Port Royal*, vol. i. livre i. chap. 3, and Jacquinet's work alluded to above.

morrow, without any further loss of time, shall work, by your sanction, to draw up the answers which are to be given to our statements of grievances (*cahiers*)."

This harangue, containing besides, as it did, the most flattering allusions to the regent, soon procured to him his appointment as her chaplain, and the notorious Marshal d'Ancre, who, together with his wife Leonora Galigaï, ruled the destinies of France, named him (1616) to the important post of secretary of state for war and foreign affairs.(§) Thus invested with an amount of authority which was quite wonderful considering his age, Richelieu did not allow himself to be dazzled by the new position he occupied; he saw how precarious was the power of the marshal, whose qualities were only those of a low commonplace adventurer, greedy for money; and he had determined upon returning to Luçon and biding his time, when the murder of his protector suddenly changed the course of affairs, and seemed to place the power into the hands of the nobles, who hoped to revive the feudal system. Concini had been shot down by Vitry on the drawbridge of the Louvre, his wife was burned to death as a witch, Mary de' Medici received an order of banishment to Blois, and Richelieu was directed not to leave his diocese.

Whilst first at Luçon, and subsequently at Avignon, the future *King of France*, busily engaged on the composition of theological treatises and controversial writings, seemed to have entirely abandoned

politics; the government had fallen into the hands of Charles d'Albert de Luynes, whose skill in training sparrow-hawks and other birds of prey, had recommended him to the notice of Louis XIII. It was at the instigation of De Luynes that Concini had been murdered. Delivered from a dangerous rival, the new favourite rose to power as speedily as he whose ruin he had contrived, and whose spoils he had appropriated. Named successively first gentleman of the king's chamber, Captain of the Bastille, Lieutenant-General of Normandy, he obtained the hand of Marie de Rohan, daughter of the Duke de Montbazon, who afterwards, as Duchess de Chevreuse, made herself so notorious by her opposition first to Richelieu, and then to Mazarin. Finally, on the 2nd of April, 1621, the dignity of Constable of France was bestowed upon him. His two brothers, Cadenet and Brantes, shared his wonderful good fortune; they were both promoted to the dignity of Marshal of France. Cadenet took as his wife Charlotte d'Ailly, countess de Chaulnes; Brantes married one of the richest heiresses of the kingdom, Marguerite, duchess de Luxembourg-Piney.(§) It is not within the scope of the present volume to describe the political character of the Duke de Luynes, or to appreciate his merits as a statesman; we shall only say here that he has hitherto been judged from the evidence of pamphlet writers either badly informed, or consciously endorsing Cardinal de Richelieu's animosity; we do not mean to represent him as a man of genius,

but he possessed undoubted abilities, was perfectly competent to perform his task, and moved freely amidst the difficulties and intrigues by which he was surrounded.* Whatever may have been the talents and qualities of the new favourite, he soon managed to make himself extremely unpopular; and Mary de' Medici, whose government had excited so much dissatisfaction when she was at the head of affairs, became an object of interest, of sympathy, nay of enthusiastic effusion on the part of those even who had previously appeared as her strongest political adversaries. The Duke de Bouillon, the Guises, the Duke de Mayenne pledged themselves to support her in her attempt to regain her liberty, and d'Épernon, who certainly had no reason to wish her well, taking the command of a numerous retinue, marched in thirty days, first from Metz to Angoulême, and then from Angoulême to Blois, with the avowed purpose of setting the queen-mother free. She managed to escape (February 22, 1619), and after a short rest at Loches, she retired into Angoumois under the protection of d'Épernon. If any fact was needed to prove how strong the feudal element was still in France, and what obstacles a powerful landed aristocracy could throw in the way of the king, surely we need only quote this extraordinary *coup de main*, carried out despite the general indifference of the whole nation. It is perfectly true, never-

* See on De Luynes, especially M. Zeller's *Le Connétable de Luynes*.

theless, that public opinion was decidedly against this war, and Luynes saw the desirability of not making too much of his advantages. Instead of crushing the unfortunate Mary de' Medici, he resolved upon bringing about a reconciliation between her and her son; and a committee of ecclesiastics—including the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, Father de Bérulle, founder of the French Oratory, and Father Joseph du Tremblay, a Capucin friar, famous afterwards under the sobriquet of *l'éminence grise*—settled the conditions of the agreement which was definitively made at Angoulême (April 30th). Mary de' Medici was obliged to give up the government of Normandy; but, as a compensation, she received that of Anjou, together with 600,000 livres, and the restoration of all her property. If d'Épernon lost Boulogne, he obtained in exchange an indemnity of 50,000 crowns.

The reconciliation was not of long continuance; the queen-mother had never regarded it in any other light but that of a truce; and no sooner had she settled down at Angers than she listened to the imprudent advice of the discontented noblemen, instead of adopting the wiser plan recommended by the Bishop of Luçon. He pressed her to go to the Louvre, state openly her grievances to the king, and obtain the dismissal of De Luynes: they were unanimously in favour of a fresh appeal to arms.

Her small forces, however, were defeated in a skirmish at the Pont-de-Cé near Angers, and the disappointed queen saw the necessity of yielding for

a time, at least, and of accepting all the consequences of her disgrace. The treaty concluded at Angers was merely a fresh ratification of the one made at Angoulême; a general amnesty was granted, and the king went even so far as to declare that in doing what they had done the queen and her friends had never had anything in view except the interests of his service and the benefit of the State. The power of De Luynes seemed more firmly settled than ever. He felt it to his advantage to keep on good terms with Richelieu; but, at the same time, contrived secretly to defeat at Rome the official application for the cardinal's hat which the Bishop of Luçon had made. France was in a state of confusion which it would be difficult to describe, and the Huguenots endeavoured to take advantage of the weakness of the Government for the purpose of establishing an independent Protestant republic, formed on the pattern of the United Netherlands. The occupation of Béarn by the royal troops, and its annexation to the Crown, did not discourage them; in January, 1621, they called at La Rochelle a general assembly of the Calvinist Churches, proclaimed the necessity of an insurrection, and applied for help to the Netherlands, England, and the German Lutherans. Their commander was the famous Duke de Rohan, of whom Voltaire has said :—

"Avec tous les talents le Ciel l'avait fait naître;
Il agit en héros, en sage il écrivit;
Il fut même grand homme en combattant son maître,
Et plus grand lorsqu'il le servit."

Vainly did that illustrious captain attempt to persuade his fellow-religionists that their grievances could not justify an act of open rebellion against the king; vainly did he urge the necessity of the assembly to separate: all his efforts, all his entreaties proved useless; and if we feel inclined to regret that he did not abide by his opinions, we cannot help admiring the generosity which prompted him to sacrifice his personal safety and his happiness to the cause of his persecuted brethren. The important town of Montauban became the centre of the Huguenot rising. The royal army, twenty thousand men strong, soon made its appearance under the walls; the siege continued for the space of nearly three months without the slightest success.

Despairing at last of carrying Montauban, De Luynes attacked and captured Négrepelisse and Monheur, two small places in the neighbourhood of Toulouse; but during the course of this short campaign he was seized with a fever which carried him off after a very tedious illness, December 14, 1621. "The most astonishing circumstance," says Fontenay-Mareuil, "is that this man, so great and powerful, was nevertheless so despised and forsaken, that during the two days when he was in agony, hardly one of his servants consented to remain in the room; and when his body was carried away to be buried, instead of priests offering up prayers on his behalf, I saw his valets playing a game of piquet on the coffin, whilst their horses were being fed." *

* Fontenay-Mareuil, *Mémoires.*

The death of the Duke de Luynes restored to Mary de' Medici part of her influence, and brought about her reconciliation with her son. She took advantage of the circumstance to obtain for the Bishop of Luçon that long-coveted prize, the cardinal's hat, and towards the beginning of 1624, he was appointed to a seat at the council board. The war against the Huguenots had not ceased with the death of De Luynes, and Louis XIII. was carrying it on with a considerable amount of vigour. Finally the Duke de Rohan managed to conclude with the king a peace which renewed the Edict of Nantes, but prohibited the meeting of political assemblies, and left to the Protestants as places of safety only La Rochelle and Montauban.

The condition of France had become deplorable: the aristocracy taking advantage of the weakness of the young king, held him, so to say, under their tutelage, and ruled with absolute authority in the large and important provinces of which they had the command; the Huguenots, although crushed for a season, had skill, energy, and resources enough to carry on a civil war; the foreign policy of Francis I. and Henry IV. was abandoned; finally the House of Austria, inaugurating the Thirty Years' War by a series of victories, seemed destined to enslave Europe, after having crushed the Protestants in Germany. With the accession of Richelieu to office all these causes of uneasiness speedily vanished away: in the course of two months he had renewed the ministry, expelled a worthless

favourite, La Vieuville,(§) subdued Louis XIII. by the vigour of a superior mind, and sketched out a plan of the political system he meant to follow. "Experience," says Fontenay-Mareuil, "has shown how right he was when he felt himself qualified for the discharge of public business; and yet in his youth he appeared very far from such thoughts, talking as he did of hardly anything but the affairs of his diocese; nevertheless he was always preparing for the eventualities of political life, thinking sometimes of what he would do if he was called to it. He would not plaster up things as so many had done before him, but bring efficient remedy wherever it was wanted, and work for the future, not for the present alone."

Voiture's testimony to the cardinal minister is so striking, and so cleverly put, that we cannot help quoting one passage from it:—

"When, two hundred years hence, those who come after us shall read in our history that Cardinal Richelieu has pulled down La Rochelle and destroyed heresy, and that by one treaty, as by one cast of the net, he has taken thirty or forty of its cities; when they learn that during his administration the English have been defeated and driven out of France, Pignerol conquered, Casale relieved, the whole of Lorraine united to the Crown, the greater part of Alsace placed under our power, the Spaniards defeated at Veillane and at Avein; when they see that, so long as he has presided over our affairs, France has not had one neighbour

whom she has not vanquished on the battle-field, and from whom she has not conquered cities and provinces; if, I say, our posterity have one single drop of French blood in their veins, and if they boast of some love for the glory of their country, will they be able to read these things without conceiving affection for him?"

And, further on:—

"Let us see if he was not within an inch of pulling down that great tree of the house of Austria, and whether he has not shaken to its roots that trunk whose two branches extend to the North and the South, and which affords shelter to the rest of the earth." *

Thus it is that true patriotism can purify the style of even the most indifferent writer, and that in celebrating the greatness of France Voiture forgot his *concetti* and his intolerable mannerism.

Richelieu has himself explained the views he had on State affairs, and on the condition of France, in so clear and striking a manner that his remarks deserve to be given here:—

"When your majesty resolved upon admitting me to your council, and honouring me with your confidence, I can truly say that the Huguenots shared the nation with you; the nobles behaved as if they were not your subjects, and the most powerful governors of the provinces assumed the pretensions of independent sovereigns. I can also add that foreign alliances were despised. I

* *Lettre sur la Prise de Corbie.*

promised your majesty to employ all my industry and all the authority you were pleased to confer upon me for the purpose of ruining the Huguenot faction, taming the pride of the aristocracy, and raising your credit amongst foreign nations to the point where it should always be." *

In order to carry out this policy Richelieu displayed all the resources of a clear intellect, a mind fully capable of grasping the *ensemble* of a subject, and, on the other hand, of following it out through its minutest details. His activity was unwearied, and his iron will crushed every object that stood in its way. He is reported to have said, "I meditate for a long time before taking a decision; but when I have once made up my mind, I go boldly on to the object of my aim, I mow down everything, and cover everything under the folds of my red gown (*Je fauche tout et je couvre tout de ma robe rouge*)." †

Before attempting to trace in detail the application and results of Richelieu's policy towards the Huguenots, the aristocracy, and the foreign powers, we must introduce our readers to the principal *dramatis personæ* in this history, and cast a glance at the French court.

Louis XIII. was neither enlightened nor firm enough to work unaided for the good of his subjects: he conscientiously desired to do what was

* *Testament Politique.*

† These words were quoted by the Archbishop of Toulouse, Monchal.

right, but he lacked energy; he appreciated grave and useful schemes, but Providence had denied him the strength to carry them out. Fortunately, he encouraged with all his authority those who possessed the gift of action, and his constitutional indolence was delighted at being relieved from the responsibility of initiating even the simplest plan. Some critics have questioned his courage, but this accusation is absolutely groundless; and on several occasions when he took the command of his troops, he was blamed for exposing himself recklessly to danger. His knowledge of military science was very great, especially in the management of sieges, the raising and planning of fortifications, and the directing of artillery. He cared little about pursuits of a literary character, and took no part in the foundation of the *Académie Française*, the progress of the drama, and the other manifestations of intellectual life which Richelieu, on the contrary, fostered and encouraged by every means in his power. Moral, high principled, scrupulously attached to his religious duties, he was too apathetic to cope with so determined a will as that of the cardinal, and although he evidently felt the inferiority of his position, yet, on the other hand, he accepted it from the sense of his incapacity, and because he knew that Richelieu, after all, was actuated by a genuine desire for the glory and prosperity of France. Music and hunting were his chief pastimes, and his extraordinary accuracy of aim with the harquebuss suggested to a wit a

jeu de mots which we reproduce here in the original. Some one having remarked on the epithet "juste" bestowed upon the king, "Oui," replied the wit, "juste à tirer de l'arquebuse." The jealousy and suspicion which formed the leading features in the character of Louis XIII. were for him a constant source of misery: he dreaded his own mother, whom he allowed to die in destitution and in exile; he dreaded his wife, his brother, those in fact whom he chiefly honoured with marks of his favour; it was with a positive sense of relief that he heard of the death of Constable de Luynes, and the condemnation of his *cher ami* Cinq-Mars found him completely indifferent.

If the pale dull image of Louis XIII. leaves upon our mind nothing but a feeling of compassion and regret, contempt is the only word which expresses rightly our opinion of his brother Gaston, duke d'Orléans. Let us listen to what a keen observer says of him: "With the exception of courage, he had all the qualities which constitute the gentleman, but fright showed that weakness had taken possession of his heart, and irresolution proved that it had also conquered his mind; he joined all the plots against the cardinal, because he had not the strength to resist those who dragged him into them, and he invariably managed to get off disgracefully, because he lacked the energy to support his associates" (De Retz). It is not too much to say that the Duke d'Orléans was unconsciously the best helper Richelieu had in his efforts

to crush the power of the aristocracy; Chalais and Montmorency, Cinq-Mars and De Thou fell victims to the suggestions of a worthless prince, whose ambition was only equalled by his pusillanimity and his love of pleasure, especially of gambling.

The queen-mother must not be forgotten in this brief sketch. Of a violent and haughty temper, fond of power, and impatient of control, she had encouraged Richelieu in his early steps towards political authority, and had been the first artisan of his fortunes. As soon, however, as she saw him gaining over the mind of Louis XIII. the sway which she supposed was her privilege and her right, she openly stood out as his enemy, and waged against him a war which, fortunately for the country, she was not able to carry on. His policy towards the Spaniards particularly irritated her; she had placed herself under the spiritual direction of Father de Bérulle, who, acknowledging no authority than that of the Vatican, could not understand Richelieu's taking the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War. Catholic alliances, he sincerely believed, were the only ones which *the most Christian king* should accept, and he had no difficulty in bringing over to his views a princess who, essentially impulsive, smarted already under a sense of what she regarded as Richelieu's ingratitude. Henry IV. has left us a very suggestive appreciation of the character of his queen, whom, by-the-by, he never really loved. Having one day to write to Madame de Monglat, governess of the Dauphin,

he said, "I have to complain of your not letting me know that you had whipped my son; for I mean and I command you to whip him whenever he persists stubbornly in anything wrong, as I know by experience that there is nothing better." Together with this letter he sent one to Mary de' Medici, containing the following remarkable words: "One thing I can assure you of, namely that being of the disposition I know you to possess, and foreseeing that of your son, you, madam, self-willed and obstinate, he, stubborn, you will certainly have difficulties together." Another contemporary writer described her as "courageous, haughty, firm, discreet, vain-glorious, obstinate, vindictive and suspicious, inclined to idleness, caring little about State affairs, and loving only the pomp and honours of royalty."

In his attempts to establish his authority and to restore peace to a country so long distracted by civil wars, Richelieu had to meet, not only the opposition of the queen-mother, the apathy of Louis XIII., and the mischievous talents of the Duke d'Orléans, but the combined skill and unscrupulousness of a host of minor intriguers who, with the view of satisfying their ambition, eagerly joined in all the plots organized against the safety of the State. The names of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Madame de Longueville, Madame de Hautefort, Madame de Fiesque, which we find mentioned in almost every page of French memoirs on the first half of the seventeenth century, remind us that ladies

of rank did not hesitate to encourage rebellion, and to sacrifice to their selfish passions or to their wanton caprices the honour and the blood of thousands of brave men. We have just enumerated a few amongst these fatal beauties; the most distinguished amongst them, the representative one, if we may use such an expression, was the notorious Duchess de Chevreuse, who, apparently born with the spirit of opposition and of cabal, intrigued against Mazarin as she did against Richelieu, was severely but justly punished by both, and astonished even Cardinal de Retz by the scandal of her conduct. We have selected her (§) to form part of this gallery of portraits, because she was the real soul of all the conspiracies which took place during the administration of Richelieu and the minority of Louis XIV., and her personality stands out with deplorable prominence amongst all those ladies of high birth who saw nothing beyond the full gratification of their desires. La Rochefoucauld, himself an adept in the art of conspiring, gives in his *Maxims* selfishness as the motive power of all our actions; the civil dissensions which marked the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. taught him that sad lesson, and he could never have learned it more thoroughly than at the school of Madame de Chevreuse. It is singular that M. Victor Cousin, who blames Cardinal de Retz for being too severe in his appreciation of that lady, should have described her, two hundred years later, in a manner which is not, after all, much more indulgent.

"Madame de Chevreuse," * he says, "possessed almost all the qualities of a good politician; only one was lacking in her character, but precisely the one without which the others are nothing but a cause of ruin: she did not know how to select a proper object; or rather she never made the selection for herself, it was made by another. She was in the highest degree *a woman:* that was both her strength and her weakness. Love, or rather gallantry, formed her leading motive of action, and the interest of him whom she loved became her principal object. This explains the prodigies of sagacity, of cunning, and of energy she displayed in the pursuit of a chimerical end which seemed always to recede before her, and which attracted her by the very *prestige* of difficulty and of danger." Such is M. Cousin's verdict. It is perhaps not so strongly expressed as that of the coadjutor, but it seems to us quite sufficient to condemn the Duchess de Chevreuse. "Pleasure led her about," says Madame de Motteville, "and she interested herself in the affairs of the world, only with reference to those who had been her lovers." Passion is a dangerous counsellor; Richelieu saw this, and he endeavoured to win over his fair enemy; his efforts were in vain.

Such were the leading persons with whom Richelieu had to do in the course of an administration which lasted for the space of eighteen years.

* Victor Cousin, *Madame de Chevreuse.*

The abasement of the house of Austria, the destruction of the Huguenots as a political power at home, finally the curtailing of the monstrous privileges enjoyed by the aristocracy—to the accomplishment of these three objects Richelieu directed all his energy; and his first attempt was certainly well calculated to startle, not only Father de Bérulle, but the whole of a nation which was then sincerely attached to the Roman Catholic faith. That a cardinal should conclude a marriage between the sister of Louis XIII. and the Prince of Wales; that he should sign a new treaty with the Dutch, subsidize secretly Mansfeld who alone then resisted in Germany the house of Austria; finally, that he should send an army of ten thousand men for the purpose of driving the Papal troops out of the Valteline, and restoring it to the Grisons:—arrangements such as these, distinctly aimed against Spain and the Vatican, were important and novel enough to command the attention of the whole of Europe; they marked the inauguration of an entirely new system of foreign policy, and Richelieu could well afford to disregard the nickname of "Pope of the Huguenots and Cardinal of Atheists," which the courtiers had given him, when he thought of the patriotic endeavour he was making to continue the traditions of Henry IV. "I am condemned now at Rome as a heretic," said he: "I shall soon be canonized there as a saint." This short sentence was intended as a threat against the Protestants: Richelieu was fully deter-

mined upon crushing for ever what he deemed an *imperium in imperio;* he reorganized the army, built or purchased ships, and set aside as much money as he could from the exchequer to defray the costs of what might turn out to be a long and difficult campaign; the treaty of Monçon which he concluded with Spain, left him free to act; and having thus made all his preparations, he waited for the opportunity of striking the fatal blow. It soon presented itself.

CHAPTER II.

THE HUGUENOTS.

England had been for some considerable time the refuge of all those who felt Richelieu's galling yoke; and Buckingham, the favourite of King Charles I., was only too disposed to encourage their hopes and favour their designs against the cardinal. Sent in 1626 as ambassador to France, he had compromised Anne of Austria by pretending to be her lover, and things came to such a pass that war was inevitable. Buckingham, besides, expected thus to bring over to his side public opinion, which his extravagance and pretensions had alienated, and in the state of effervescence which had taken possession of England, he thought that a kind of crusade on behalf of the Huguenots would restore to him his popularity. The unfortunate marriage which had placed on the throne of England the Princess Henrietta Maria seemed to him a favourable opportunity of carrying out his purposes. It is no exaggeration to say that no political event had been more inauspiciously

designed and more inopportunely accomplished.* The Duchess de Chevreuse, appointed to accompany the young queen to England, whose behaviour in London was of the most scandalous character, had become fascinated by Buckingham, and did her best to prejudice her husband against the unfortunate Henrietta Maria. That princess may have irritated, no doubt, Charles I. by her haughtiness, her caprices, and her temper, but she was surrounded by snares of every kind, and the three ambassadors who had been sent over with her to France were utterly incapable of helping her to storm the tide of unpopularity which was rising on all sides. Of the Duke de Chevreuse we need say nothing; the two others, La Ville-aux-Clercs and d'Effiat, constantly at variance with each other, had neither energy enough to defend the interests of France, nor perspicacity enough to see through the intrigues so cleverly woven around them. To add to these complications, De Bérulle, the founder of the French Oratory, and the only man of real ability mixed up with this affair, was disliked by Richelieu; and the vain Anne of Austria, still madly fond of Buckingham, took his part against her husband's own sister. In defiance of an express clause stipulated in the marriage contract of the Princess Henrietta Maria, all the French Catholic members of the household were dismissed and replaced by English servants;

* See M. Guizot's *Projet de Mariage Royal*, and l'Abbé Houssaye's *Cardinal de Bérulle*, chaps. i. iii. vii.

privateers were secretly encouraged to give chase to French vessels, and all the prizes they managed to capture were considered as lawfully forfeited, and sold. Bassompierre received orders to start immediately for England, for the purpose of remonstrating in the name of Louis XIII., and obtaining full satisfaction. He was received with deference, assured that the legitimate complaints put forth by his master would be attended to,* and Buckingham offered to come himself to Paris with the view of renewing the *entente cordiale* of which the marriage of the Princess Henrietta Maria was the pledge. This last proposition met not only with a refusal, but with an order absolutely prohibiting Buckingham from entering France; under these circumstances peace became impossible; the King of England openly expressed his intention of assisting actively the Huguenots, and Buckingham appeared before the island of Ré with a fleet of ninety ships, carrying an army of sixteen thousand men. Richelieu scarcely made a mystery of the satisfaction he felt on hearing the news: "The time has now arrived at last," said he, "of exterminating the Huguenot faction which for upwards of a century has been rending France asunder; so long as the Huguenots have a footing in the country, the king will never be master at home, neither will he be able to carry on any glorious undertaking abroad; finally, it will be

* See the "Memoirs of Bassompierre" (*Société de l'Histoire de France*), vol. iii. pp. 257–280.

impossible for him to tame the pride of the nobles, who still consider La Rochelle as a citadel under shelter of which they can assert with impunity their dissatisfactions and make good their supposed grievances."

The energetic cardinal set about his military task with an amount of activity which was perfectly astonishing. Thanks to his indefatigable watchfulness, order and discipline were introduced throughout the army to an extent till then unknown; the soldiers, regularly paid, were no longer driven to seek their sustenance by pillage and marauding; the country districts supplied the troops with provisions; the neighbouring towns contributed articles of clothing and furniture. Richelieu, in his memoirs, compares the camp before La Rochelle to a quiet well-regulated monastery. The simile is all the more striking because a very large number of Franciscan monks had arrived in the train of the prime minister's confidential friend and adviser, Father Joseph, to perform the services of the Church, and attend to the spiritual wants of the army. Richelieu's staff consisted chiefly of clergymen. Henry de Sourdis, bishop of Maillezais, whom he promoted subsequently to the see of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Nismes and of Mende, and the Abbé de Marcillac, were his chief lieutenants, encouraging the soldiers, urging the workmen, and forwarding the preliminary operations with all possible diligence.

The Rochelese, on their side, were preparing

themselves for a desperate resistance. They had elected as their mayor an intrepid sailor, Guiton, who, drawing his dagger, exclaimed, "I accept the honour you are pleased to confer upon me, but on condition that this dagger shall serve to pierce the heart of whosoever dares speak of surrendering, —mine foremost, if I should be unhappy enough to stoop to such an act of cowardice."

The English were driven from the island of Ré, where they had managed to land; and in order to prevent them from victualling La Rochelle, the cardinal erected a gigantic dyke, 740 toises long, twelve toises wide at its basis, and four at the top, and rising above the highest tides. Two fortresses protected the extremities, whilst two hundred vessels served as a defence to the neighbouring coast; on the side of the land a line of circumvallation, nine miles long, covered by thirteen forts besides eighteen redoubts, and bristling with artillery, held the town within a circle of fire, and cut off all communications between the Rochelese and the interior of the country. Louis XIII. had been induced by his minister to come himself and watch the operations of the siege; after a short stay he returned to Paris, and Richelieu was left in chief command, having under him the Dukes d'Angoulême and d'Épernon, and Marshals Schomberg and Bassompierre.

Reduced to live upon shell-fish, grass, and refuse of every kind, the Rochelese seemed utterly lost; dissensions were beginning to break out; but

whilst some disheartened persons urged submission, whilst quarrels took place in the council and riots in the streets, the champions of liberty, headed by the inflexible Guiton and the heroic Duchess de Rohan, were determined upon waiting for the fresh assistance which Charles I. had promised them. The women, the children, and the aged, turned out of the city by the besieged, driven back by the besiegers, perished between the two armies; upwards of sixteen thousand of the inhabitants had been carried off by hunger; and yet the survivors remained unflinching in their resolution to hold out. Pontis relates in his memoirs that on being told that every one was dying, Guiton coolly answered, "Provided one remains to shut the gates, it is enough."

On the 22nd of September the English fleet, commanded by Lord Lindsay, at last appeared in sight, but after several fruitless efforts it was compelled to retire, and a little more than a month later (October 29, 1628) the Rochelese capitulated; they had kept Richelieu in check for the space of fifteen months, and the political unity of France had cost forty millions of livres. A State paper, drawn up in the form of a letter of pardon, granted to the inhabitants a complete amnesty, together with freedom of worship. On the 30th of October, Richelieu took possession of La Rochelle, and the next day he celebrated mass in the church of S. Marguerite. Squares, streets, houses, were crowded with corpses. Twelve thousand loaves of

bread were distributed amongst the people, and after the most urgent cases of relief had been met, the political work began. "Externally," says M. Gardiner, "La Rochelle was treated like a conquered city. The massive walls, which had bid defiance to so many armies, were destroyed. The privileges of the town were cancelled, and the king's officers governed the Protestant municipal republic as they governed in Paris or in Rouen. But Richelieu had set his heart on showing to the world an example of toleration, and his influence with Louis was great enough to enable him to have his way. He, at least, was no dreamer, and he knew that if France was to be strong against its enemies without, it must be at peace at home. Those who expected that the victory of a cardinal would be the signal for outrages upon the Huguenots, found that they were grievously mistaken. Wherever the French Protestants had enjoyed liberty of worship before, they were to enjoy it now. Protestant and Catholic would be equally welcome to aid their common country with their services, but there was to be no more political independence, no more defiance of the sovereign who represented, in the eyes of all men, the unity of France." *

The *Édit de grâce* issued at Nîmes in July, 1629, as the result of the new state of things, was for the Huguenots as the commencement of a fresh era. Deprived of their political influence, they directed

* *England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.*, vol. ii. 353.

their whole attention towards the arts of peace, and obtained soon a decided superiority over their fellow-countrymen in commerce, agriculture, and industry. Richelieu, on his side, always scrupulously observed the conditions of the treaty, and, except in a few cases, showed himself just and kind towards the Protestants. Thus in 1631, during the course of a national synod held at Charenton (September 1st, to October 10th), he allowed them to settle a good number of administrative details relating to the schools, the relief of the poor, Church discipline, relations with the Lutherans, etc. He replied to the deputies of the assembly that his intention was to maintain what had been granted to them, and authorize what should not be contrary to previous edicts. This synod, before breaking up, received the thanks of the minister for the spirit which had marked its proceedings, and the expenses it had incurred were defrayed by a grant from his majesty's exchequer. The Government, as a kind of return, obtained the free appointment of the deputies-general to the synods, and the members of these ecclesiastical convocations gave up the right of presenting six candidates for the deputation. They merely reserved to themselves the privilege of approving the two names suggested by the king, and which, thus selected and recommended, would afterwards receive the royal nomination.

A considerable number of Huguenot *gentilshommes* were employed by Richelieu in the army, where they

rendered the greatest services to France; let us name merely Gassion, Rantzau, the Duke de la Force, the Duke de Rohan, Turenne and Duquesne.* The Prince de Condé himself acknowledged that the success of the battle of Rocroy was entirely due to Gassion, who received the staff of Marshal of France shortly after, and who by his modesty, his activity, and his integrity, increased the well-deserved reputation he had acquired as a soldier. The slightest deviation from the truth, even if the result of politeness, was repugnant to his essentially upright character. "I will not receive any compliments from my friends," he used to say, "and they must not expect any from me." One day Cardinal Richelieu having endeavoured to secure his co-operation in the carrying out of some intrigue, Gassien answered, "My lord, you may reckon upon my life and my death whenever I shall be called upon to serve you, but give me the opportunity of doing so without having to assist in any underhand plot. I shall give you a good account of your enemies, but they must also be mine." "That is sufficient, sir," answered the cardinal; "your fortune may be the worse in consequence of your resolution, but my esteem for you remains the same."

Of Marshal Rantzau, who had received sixty wounds, and had lost one eye, one arm, and one leg in the French service, it was proverbially said

* On all these Protestant celebrities see Mess. Haag's biographical dictionary, *La France Protestante.*

that his heart was the one part of his person which had remained untouched.* The Duke de la Force distinguished himself equally in the wars of the early seventeenth century: he won the battle of Carignan over the Spaniards, and defeated the Duke de Lorraine at Montbéliard; when the cavalry of Jean de Werth, after having taken Corbie (1636), threatened Paris, he organized the traders, artisans, and even the street-porters (*crocheteurs*) into an army, and saved the capital. The Duke de Rohan is well known, and we have alluded to him before. Sentenced to exile in 1629, restored subsequently to favour, he took possession of the Valteline in 1635; then, once more disgraced, he served as a volunteer in the army of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Rheinfeld. Turenne, it is true, abjured Protestantism during the reign of Louis XIV., but he belonged to the Huguenots at the time when he earned his first distinction as a military man. Duquesne, on the other hand, remained to the end of his life firm in his religious belief; he began his naval career in the fleet commanded by the Archbishop of Bordeaux; he was only seventeen when he signally contributed to the expedition which ended in the driving of the Spaniards from the islands of Lerins; he distinguished himself in the engagement at Tarragona (1641), and at that of Cape Gata (1643), where he was wounded. Let us end this

* The epitaph engraved on his tombstone contains the following line: "Et Mars ne lui laissa rien d'entier que le cœur."

catalogue by mentioning the name of Marshal de Châtillon, who won the battle of Avein in the Netherlands, and took possession of Hesdin and Arras. Grandson of Admiral Coligny, Gaspard, count de Châtillon, although a Protestant, played very little part in the affairs of his Church, and in the struggle it had to carry on with the royal authority. He was naturally of an indolent disposition, disliked business, and had felt annoyed both by the airs of superiority which the Duke de Rohan affected towards him, and by the violent attacks which the more fanatic amongst his fellow-religionists directed against him. It was only after the siege of La Rochelle that he obtained an important command in the French army. He died in 1646.

If we now look at a list of the Protestants employed by Richelieu and honoured with his confidence in the domains of literature, the name of Valentin Conrart meets us at once. It is no exaggeration to say that the minister and he were the true founders of the *Académie Française;* he drew up its statutes in 1635, together with the letters patent of its institution. A man of taste and of common sense, he was looked upon as an oracle by the best writers of the day; and although he wrote very little himself,* yet his sound judgment could always see what were the merits or the defects of the works presented for his criticism. He was the first

* Boileau says, somewhat ironically: "Imitez de Conrart *le silence prudent.*"

secretary of the Académie, and retained the office till his death.

It seems beyond a doubt that Richelieu's spirit of moderation contributed in no slight measure to bring over several of the Huguenots to the Romish Church. Many amongst them who would have set at defiance the royal troops and the horrors of the rack and the stake, were not proof against the favours of the court; we must also bear in mind that a large number of the most influential leaders had joined the Calvinists, or remained with them, only in hope of conquering back again the feudal independence which was the sole object of their ambition; as soon as they saw their plans frustrated, they abandoned a cause now shorn of all political importance.

Richelieu had, in the meanwhile, seriously thought of enticing the Huguenots over to the national faith by gentle means, and by appeals to the peaceful weapons of public discussion. A certain sum of money, which he suggested to the court of the Vatican, would have been spent in bribing those amongst the dissenting *pasteurs* who could be won back in that way; the others would have been invited to take part in a conference led by the most celebrated divines on both sides. The Romish Church could only profit by a discussion honestly carried on with all the resources of exegetical and patristic learning; then the result would have been drawn up in the shape of an edict, and the edict itself enforced by the secular power. The

course we have thus stated, was somewhat similar to that which the Emperor Charles V. had proposed doing during the Augsburg *interim*. The Pope did not feel in the slightest degree inclined to support Richelieu's plan; he was by no means so thoroughly sure of success, and the College of Cardinals advised waiting till some tangible proofs of conversion had been obtained, before venturing any further. Then the sanction of a conference on religious topics was contrary to Romish maxims, because the Church rejects all independent and national decisions respecting points of doctrine. These objections did not discourage Richelieu; we are told that he caused a number of passages from the Fathers on controverted points to be transcribed, and that he had studied them with the closest attention; he had even gone so far as to hint to some of the leading Huguenot ministers the probability of their obtaining certain important concessions, amongst others on the *vexata quæstio* of the real presence. As a matter of fact several theological works, written with a view to conciliation, appeared on both sides; but they were immediately denounced, both by the Papal nuncio and the strict Calvinists. No halting between two opinions! no facing both ways! was the cry of the uncompromising in the two camps. The ambassador Scotti, in a report which he drew up for the court of the Vatican, congratulated himself on having procured a sentence of interdiction against a number of writings which had been published

advocating toleration, and on having excluded from the Paris pulpits some preachers who were advocating Richelieu's policy. The cardinal took no notice of these efforts; he persisted in believing that nothing else was needed but to caution the synods against allowing the pastors to interfere with politics, and to prevent the ministers of the foreign Protestant Churches from performing their pastoral functions in France. His great aim was to make the Huguenots feel that they formed an essential part of the nation, and that as such they must be loyal subjects of the Crown. So long as they adhered to this course they would find in him a steady and resolute protector.

The Huguenots, thus honestly and openly appealed to, gave unequivocal proofs that they meant sincerely to behave as true Frenchmen; during the adminstration both of Richelieu and of Mazarin they firmly refused to join in any of the plots organized against the two great ministers. In 1632, for instance, the Duke de Montmorency did his utmost to secure the assistance of the Calvinists of the Cévennes. He promised them the restitution of the places of safety taken from them by Richelieu, and their free admission to all the high offices and dignities of the State, agreeably to the terms of the Edict of Nantes: all these tempting offices were made in vain, and the steady adherence of the Protestants to their duty towards the king powerfully helped to crush a movement which might have produced serious consequences.

A few years later, the Protestant banker, Herwart, a native of Suabia, placed his fortune at Richelieu's disposal, thus enabling him to retain the services of a body of ten thousand Swedish troops who, for want of pay, were on the point of abandoning the French standard at the very moment when the invasion of Alsace was contemplated. His generosity was rewarded with the gift of Landres and of the forest of La Hart, which were subsequently confiscated from his family at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We alluded just now to the judicious manner in which both Richelieu and Mazarin availed themselves of the talents of able and influential Protestants. The history of Herwart illustrates this fact in a striking manner; the latter of the statesmen named above appointed him to the office of *intendant des finances* in 1650 (or 1656, as some authorities have it), and not only maintained him, notwithstanding the clamours of the Romish clergy, but promoted him in 1657 to the post of comptroller-general.

It is a melancholy thing to relate that the enlightened policy of the cardinal was vehemently opposed by most of the municipal corporations and local parliaments of the kingdom. The fact is that the religious wars of the sixteenth century were still in every one's memory; the magistrates could not get rid of the belief that Protestantism was a standing menace to the realm; according to their opinions the *Édit de grâce*, as well as the other declarations of the same kind made from

time to time by the Government, were only warnings, so to say, and hints that a return to the bosom of the Romish Church must be finally brought about. Toleration, to tell the truth, was nowhere understood, and very few of Richelieu's contemporaries would have endorsed the following maxim, which we find in one of his works: "Violent remedies only help to aggravate the diseases of the mind."

This circumstance will serve to explain the extraordinary number of decrees made by bishops, parliaments, and, though less frequently, emanating from the king's council, in evident violation of the edicts granted in favour of the Protestants. It would be tedious to give here the catalogue of these decrees; a few specimens will suffice. In 1629, the keeper of the seals, Michel de Marillac published a code of laws embracing all the details of civil, ecclesiastical, criminal, naval and financial administrations, etc., which was familiarly designated as the *Code Michau*, from the name of its complier; * article 109 of this document prohibits foreigners from preaching in France. During the same year the Poitiers town council decided that no Protestants should henceforth be received to the masterships (*maîtrises jurées*) of the various trades. On the 22nd of June (1629) the Rennes parliament, whilst allowing Protestants leave not to decorate, themselves, the front of their houses with flowers and hangings on the feast of Corpus Christi, and other procession days,

* *Michau* is familiar for Michel.

expressly directed that *these decorations should be put up for them.* In 1630 (October 3rd and 11th) and in 1631 (June 6th) orders from council prohibited in several localities the Huguenot ministers from officiating elsewhere than in the parish where they resided, and especially enacted that they should not preach in *annexes.* This measure was intended to curtail the salaries of the pastors, and to induce certain localities, deprived of spiritual help, to join the Romish Church. The national synod held at Charenton (September 1st—October 10th, 1631) protested against this outrageous measure, which was modified partly, so far as the province of Dauphiné was concerned, by another decree, dated September 26, 1633; a declaration bearing date July 23rd, of the same year, ordered that the colleges and other schools founded in the Protestant cities, and which were maintained at the expense of the Protestants, should for the future be shared equally by the Catholics and the dissenters, and that the masters and teachers should be taken from candidates belonging to either religion, indifferently.

Under the designation of *Grands-Jours* the French Government was in the habit of holding, at irregular intervals, assizes in the provinces or *Generalities* which, on account of their distance from the metropolis, often eluded the action of the central power, and became the scene of scandalous abuses, and often of glaring crimes. The magistrates who constituted the bench during the meetings of these

Grands-Jours being selected from the highest members of the *Cours Souveraines* (parliaments, privy council, court of accounts, etc.), offered all the guarantees of independence necessary to secure the punishment of notorious offenders; thus we read that, during the sitting of these assizes at Poitiers in 1634, a considerable number of *vilains* were hanged, and no less than two hundred and thirty-three *gentilshommes* and other persons of rank sentenced to imprisonment and confiscation of their property, which, to quote Richelieu's own words, "gave them the opportunity of taking a walk elsewhere." * So far so good, and the severity of these measures produced the best possible effect; but it was perfectly iniquitous to visit with all the rigour of the law the Huguenots who had only exercised their undoubted right of protesting against the constant violations of the Edict of Nantes sanctioned by the Government. The advocate-general, Omer Talon, however, expressly said that, "as the *prétendus réformés* were merely tolerated, the affairs which concerned them, far from being interpreted and decided in the most favourable sense, should, on the contrary, uniformly receive the severest application." In accordance with this view a decree was issued on the 4th of September, 1634, which affected the Protestant communities of Angoumois, Anjou, Aunis, Maine, Touraine, Limousin and Périgord, and which proved of the most disastrous character.

* "Leur donna occasion de s'aller promener ailleurs."

The interment of dissenters in Catholic burial-grounds was strictly forbidden, under a penalty of ten thousand livres, together with the exhumation of the bodies; the Catholic services were re-established in all the churches occupied by the Huguenots; the bells of those churches could no longer be used to call the Protestants to their religious assemblies; no dissenting schools could be held except in the places specially and distinctly named in the letters patent; the noblemen belonging to the reformed religion were compelled to declare their chief residence, in order to localize the celebration of Divine worship, which, besides, could not be performed during their absence; no religious exercises of a public nature were allowed in the lordships the owners of which had embraced the Romish faith; all temples erected in the cemeteries or in the immediate neighbourhood of the churches, to say nothing of those which had been built since the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes without a duly verified permission, were closed; no preaching was tolerated in the residences of the *pasteurs;* the use of the word *Church* was strictly forbidden, except when applied to the Roman Catholic establishment; a fine of five hundred livres was imposed upon all those who, speaking of, or alluding to, the Reformed faith, should neglect to designate it as the *Religion prétendue réformée.* These instances will serve to show the animosity which prevailed against the Huguenots, even amongst the magistracy and that portion of

French society which would have naturally been regarded *à priori* as favourable to the maxims of wise and enlightened toleration. In Paris, it is true, the position of the dissenters was much more favourable, because Richelieu was there, and he would not have allowed any open act contrary to the maxims which characterized his policy towards the Huguenots. We must further remark that whenever the provincial parliaments had promulgated an edict affecting the rights of the religious minority, they took care to have that edict carried out *before* obtaining the sanction of the supreme council or a royal declaration.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which took place forty-three years after Richelieu's death, has been often regarded as originating exclusively, or almost exclusively, with the influence of Madame de Maintenon and of the Jesuits acting upon the despotic nature of Louis XIV. This is a statement requiring considerable modification. We may say more correctly that the king, when he gave his consent to this unjust and impolitic act, was merely making himself the interpreter of a "national error;" and we should feel all the more inclined to admire the foresight and prudence of Richelieu, who, after destroying Protestantism as a political party, refused to endorse the views of those who advised him to complete his victory, and to deal with the religious problem as he had done with the secular side of the question.

Before bringing to an end what we had to say

about the cardinal's relations with the Huguenots, we cannot too much insist upon the fact that, whatever his private opinions may have been as a dignitary of the Romish Church, his fundamental maxim was the absolute independence of the civil power, and the danger of allowing an *imperium in imperio*. When De Bérulle and the other members of the clergy urged so repeatedly the suppression of heresy and the restoration of religious unity, their plan was to bring about, not the organization of a national Church, but the re-establishment of Ultramontanism, and the subjection of France to the authority of the Vatican. For them the representative of God in things temporal as well as spiritual was at Rome, not at Paris, and if their line of policy had been followed, the country would have been reduced to the miserable condition to which Philip II. had brought the Spanish monarchy. It would have been far better if Richelieu had seen his way to stop the proceedings of the provincial parliaments and the local magistrates in their treatment of the Huguenots, but this was impossible, and we feel very little doubt that he was anxious not to irritate or offend a body of men who shared his detestation of Ultramontanist principles, and on whose efficient assistance he might depend to crush down the disciples of Loyola. The attitude assumed by Richelieu towards the Gallican Church will show that, whether the interference of ecclesiastical authority in matters of statecraft came from Rome or from Geneva, it was equally

contrary, in his eyes, to the rules of sound policy; and, after having examined his dealings with the Huguenots, we must now see how he applied his principles in the administering and supervision of the national establishment.

CHAPTER III.

THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

We have already said something about the condition in which the wars of the sixteenth century had left the Gallican Church: a great work of moral cleansing was absolutely necessary if the old religious establishment was to be saved from absolute destruction. Periods of civil disturbances, if they retard and hinder the progress of civilization, have, on the other hand, the advantage of moulding great characters, and of producing examples of virtue and self-sacrifice; such was the case during the administration of Cardinal Richelieu, and it is worthy of notice that the reform which took place within the bosom of the national Church was essentially practical in its nature. Instead of being ascetic institutions, as at the time of the Middle Ages; instead of serving exclusively as refuges for souls weary of worldly turmoil, and anxious to seek repose in the quiet duties of meditation and prayer, the convents and monasteries formed real centres of action, and the members of the highest families

in the realm frequented them from time to time, merely with the object of recruiting their exhausted strength, and bracing themselves anew for the active discharge of works of charity. The political relations of the prime minister with the Church, and his struggles with the Ultramontanist party, are, no doubt, topics which deserve serious consideration; but we should feel that we had omitted an interesting part of our duty if we did not, at any rate, allude to the generous and persistent efforts made by Vincent de Paul, Françoise de Sales, Claude Bernard, surnamed "the poor priest" (*le pauvre prêtre*), De Bérulle, Madame Legras, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and many others to give a systematic organization and a powerful impulse to philanthropic institutions.

The name of Saint Vincent de Paul* is the one which always comes uppermost to one's memory when the question arises about the charitable work which was accomplished in France during the early seventeenth century. He was fortunate enough to be surrounded by generous friends who could not only support him with their purses and their advice, but assist him in person in his task of Christian beneficence; and the names of Emmanuel de Gondy, general of the galleys, and Françoise Marguerite de Silly, his wife, will live as long as that of him whom a celebrated historian

* We give the popular spelling of this name, although the right one is *Depaul;* just as in the case of the "Maid of Orleans," whose name should be spelt *Darc* and not *d'Arc.*

has so rightly called "the grand almoner of France."

We do not mean to say that no attempt had been made before Saint Vincent de Paul to relieve the awful misery which the wars of a reformation epoch had produced throughout the kingdom—Saint François de Sales, Saint-Cyran had taken noble steps in that direction,—but we distinctly affirm that Saint Vincent de Paul was really the first *organizer;* he established fraternities (*confréries*) in a number of places, and he correctly understood that the most needful thing in a distracted epoch, such as the one in which he lived, was not the quiet solitude of the cloister nor the virtues of the ascetic, but a useful life in the midst of society, a life devoted to the service of those who lack everything, who suffer bodily, and who have sunk into the lowest abyss of ignorance and vice. Incessant activity was the great characteristic of our hero; his zeal for the poor did not prevent him from turning his attention to missionary work at home and abroad; but, with a few exceptions, the French clergy were remarkably ignorant, and accordingly incapable of teaching even the rudiments of the Christian doctrine. Assisted by men such as Bourdoise, Olier, Eudes, and others, Saint Vincent de Paul established meetings for purposes both of instruction and of edification; he trained army and navy chaplains, opened asylums for foundlings, madhouses, hospitals, and gathered together under the names of *Dames de la Charité*

and *Servantes des pauvres* a band of Christian ladies whose enlightened zeal was equalled only by their unremitting charity.

The question of pauperism is one which must be always full of interest; in the days of Cardinal Richelieu it had become an all-absorbing one, and several causes concurred to render it so. The cardinal's policy was to crush for ever the power of the house of Austria. Now, the Emperor of Germany could do but little without the help of Spain, and thus, it will be seen, France was threatened on all its frontiers. The struggle was destined to be a terrible one. In carrying it on, Richelieu was in truth constituting himself the champion of European liberty, but at the same time he was bringing down upon France the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, till then localized in Germany.

"Human history," says M. Michelet, "seems at an end when we enter upon that period; there are no more men, no more nations. We only find the brutality of war, and its tool—the rough, implacable soldier. . . . *He* then reigns supreme, and the populations are handed over to him, persons and property, body and soul, men, women, children. Whoever carries a blade at his side is king, and does whatever he pleases. No more crimes, therefore; everything becomes lawful. The horrible spectacle of towns sacked, and the frightful joys which follow, are renewed every day on open villages and defenceless frontiers. Everywhere

men are beaten, wounded, and killed, women dishonoured. Nothing but tears and shrieks!"* Time will not allow us to go through the details of this heart-rending war, but the descriptions of plagues, pestilences, conflagrations, famines have been preserved; their monotony is sickening, and it is difficult to find a spark of feeling in all those catalogues, which are drawn up with the matter-of-fact dryness of official documents. We can easily understand that the provinces laid waste by the excesses of French or foreign soldiers were utterly unable to pay the taxes and other subsidies due to the Government; consequently the pressure was put upon the districts situated far from the scene of action, and thus the misery became universal. This brief statement was necessary to show the extent of the field over which Saint Vincent de Paul and his coadjutors had to work, the amount of help they had to give. It is a curious fact, and worth noting, that the most zealous apostles of charity in those days belonged to the Jansenist party—Maignard de Bernières, Du Gué de Bagnols, Le Nain, the Arnaulds, Pomponne de Bellièvre may be named amongst them.

The Duchess d'Aiguillon, niece of Cardinal de Richelieu, must not be forgotten in this enumeration, however brief; next to Madame Legras and Madame de Gondy she contributed most, says M. Bonneau Avenant, to the glorious work of Saint Vincent de Paul. She was the soul of his charitable

* *Histoire de France.*

meetings, his missions, his assemblies of every kind. Under his direction she founded at Marseilles an hospital for the galley-slaves; she contrived to interest her uncle in this new creation, and introduced to him three gentlemen who had promised their help in carrying it out—the Abbé Vincent; Gault, bishop of Marseilles, and the Chevalier de Simiane, a pious Provençal *gentilhomme*. Richelieu gave his fullest approbation to Madame d'Aiguillon's scheme, and directed the building of the hospital to be commenced immediately; the necessary expenses were defrayed almost entirely by the duchess and the three friends named above.

Madame Legras had founded in the parish of Saint Nicolas du Chardonnet in Paris a branch of the society of the *Dames de Charité;* Saint Vincent de Paul soon secured in Madame d'Aiguillon one of his most assiduous helpers, and in her particular district the duchess had many opportunities of exercising her zeal. It was an immense parish (Saint Sulpice), belonging to the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Abbot of Saint Germain-des-Prés, and under a far too lenient administration it had become the worst part of Paris, a real sink of iniquity. The Duchess d'Aiguillon repeatedly urged Saint Vincent de Paul to send missionaries amongst the inhabitants of the parish. At first she received a flat refusal; but, won over by her continued entreaties, Saint Vincent de Paul gave his consent, and obtained an amount of success which he had never ventured to anticipate.

Every year the various branches of the *Dames de Charité* met in a general assembly, where, the results of the common work having been examined and discussed, plans for the future were proposed and fresh assistance asked to meet fresh emergencies. We must not forget that all these efforts were the result of private zeal; the Government, as such, neither supported nor initiated them, and Richelieu in giving to them the benefit of his sanction, yielded to the persuasion of a favourite niece who never made use of his influence except for purposes of Christian charity. We must further say, that if the prime minister countenanced new manifestations of practical religion, it was chiefly because none of the distinguished men we have just named showed that ambitious tendency, that authoritative spirit, which was calculated to arouse his suspicions and excite his jealousy. The case was totally different with Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbot of Saint-Cyran, who introduced Jansenism into France, and is so thoroughly identified with the history of Port Royal. During the beginning of his ecclesiastical career, he had attracted Richelieu's notice by his transcendent genius, and on one occasion the cardinal, in the presence of a large company of noblemen, pointed him out as the greatest theologian of France. Both he and his nephew, M. de Barcos, might have secured rapid promotion in the Church, and have been amply provided for by rich livings, if they had only seemed anxious to become the tools and agents of a man who could not tolerate

around himself superiority of any description. But Saint-Cyran remained inflexible, and on the 16th of May, 1638, he was arrested by twenty-two archers and taken to the castle of Vincennes, where he spent five years as a captive. When asked what causes could have led to so severe and so unlooked-for a measure, he enumerated as many as *seventeen*. It would be useless to give them all in detail; a glance at some of the most important will suffice here. The first and foremost, as M. Sainte-Beuve very well remarks,* may be thus expressed: a certain power, of a peculiar kind, was living in the State, independently of the master, and the master became uneasy and annoyed at it. By experience Richelieu knew that Saint-Cyran was a man whom it was impossible to get hold of (*sans prise*), inaccessible both to caresses and to threats. If we may believe the historian Lancelot,† a last and serious attempt was made to bring him over to Richelieu's side, just before his incarceration at Vincennes. "I remember," says he, "that a few days after the arrest of M. de Saint-Cyran, M. de Barcos told me that offers had been made to him a short time previously, and that if they had been inclined to yield, both M. de Saint-Cyran and himself would have each had more than forty thousand livres in Church benefices, and that *his uncle would not be*

* *Port Royal*, livre ii. vol. i. of the third edition, pages 486 and foll.

† *Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de Saint-Cyran.*

there (at Vincennes)." Alluding one day to this circumstance in a conversation with *la mère Angélique* during the last months of his life, Saint-Cyran made the following noteworthy observation: "that the narrow way had obliged him to accept a prison rather than a bishopric, because he could very well foresee then that his refusal of the one would necessarily lead him to the other *under a Government which tolerated none but slaves.*" It appears very certain, besides, that the cardinal had the project of establishing a patriarchate in France, and of assuming the dignity and office of a quasi-pope himself. He affected, of course, in talking to his *entourage*, to put forth the plan mainly for the purpose of frightening the court of the Vatican; but it was really a scheme which he had much at heart, and there is no doubt that Saint-Cyran and the Jansenist party would have been a terrible obstacle if what was then only contemplated had been carried out. Strange to say, the sworn enemies of the Jesuits would have naturally become Ultramontanists for the time, and defended the rights of the Pope against the Patriarch, or rather the Pope of the Gallican Church. Port Royal would have stood up for the religious independence. This line of conduct, we may notice, is exactly the one which Saint-Cyran's friends adopted in the discussion on the *Régale*.* Later on, acting on the same

* The *Régale* was the right claimed by the king to appoint to all benefices not conferring cure of souls in a diocese when the episcopal chair was vacant, and to receive the income of the see till the nomination of a new bishop.

principles, the Jansenists took the part of Rome against Louis XIV. They no more approved of a king-bishop than they would have, under Richelieu, sanctioned a prime minister Patriarch. But Saint-Cyran had incurred, besides, Richelieu's anger, as being the intimate friend of Jansenius, who had composed in 1635, under the title *Mars Gallicus*, a violent pamphlet against France.

When Louis XIII. made war with Spain, the Dutch theologian, aided by Roze as his *collaborateur*, issued a Latin work bearing the title we have just given, denouncing in the most spirited manner the prerogative of the King of France and exposing with special bitterness the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, who, although a prince of the Church, selected as his allies Lutherans and Calvinists. He went on to depict the disastrous consequences which would naturally result for catholic Germany. Who was responsible for these consequences? *Louis the Just;* and here Jansenius, indulged in some rather insipid railleries on this ill-deserved epithet. "Now" (we quote from the pamphlet) "let not his most Christian majesty deceive himself, nor think that his conscience is pure and free from the crime of treachery against religion, just on account of certain feelings of piety which appear natural to him, and which he has even, they say, given proofs of, by shedding abundant tears when the narrative of the ruin of the German Churches and the disasters of religion reached his ears. King Herod, too, was sorry at the death of St. John the Baptist,

in whose speeches he took delight; but another will stronger than his having expressed itself, he gave him up to the executioner; *Sed alia dominante voluntate, necandum dedit.*" This was cutting for the vindictive cardinal; Jansenius, living on the spot (Tirlemont is only nine miles from Louvain, where he resided), described with great energy the horrors which accompanied the sacking of Tirlemont, the cruelties inflicted by the combined armies of France and the Netherlands, the churches destroyed, the Host profaned, the nuns insulted, etc. The work became immediately popular, the cardinal's enemies (and their name was legion) had it translated into French. Richelieu alludes to it in a passage of his memoirs as *quelques libelles*, and he fully resolved to make the friends of Jansenius in France suffer for it; the Dutch theologian himself was rewarded by Spain with the bishopric of Ypres.

We have thus enumerated a rather heavy series of grievances which the cardinal minister had against Saint-Cyran. Then there was the question of the nullity of the marriage contracted between Monsieur, brother of the king, and Marguerite de Lorraine. It is well known that the restless Duke d'Orléans, always plotting and always flinching when the time for action arrived, had secured the assistance of the Infanta of Spain who governed the Netherlands, and of the Duke of Lorraine, for the purpose of invading France and putting an end to the authority of Richelieu. The marriage

of Gaston with Marguerite was then a settled thing, but when her brother found out that no reliance could be placed upon the Duke d'Orléans, he disavowed the intended union, stated that the army he had assembled was only meant to act against the King of Sweden, and promised to expel the brother of Louis XIII. from his dominions. The influence of Puylaurens, one of Gaston's favourite friends, prevailing over that of wiser advisers, brought about the marriage. It was decided, in the first instance, that it should take place unknown to Louis XIII., and the Duke of Lorraine assured the king that the rumours about so extraordinary an action were simply fabricated by people whose interest it was to irritate Cardinal de Richelieu, and to drive him to some rash and dangerous enterprise.

The ceremony had, nevertheless, at first been performed, but privately, and the marriage was afterwards publicly acknowledged at Brussels before the Archbishop of Malines. Louis XIII. refused to sanction it as having been made not only without his consent, but in direct opposition to his orders; and the cardinal determined that it should be formally annulled. He is said to have had views of family interest in connection with this matter, and to have projected an alliance between the Duke d'Orléans and his niece Madame de Combalet; * at any rate a committee of five members, comprising

* This is denied by M. Bonneau-Avenant, *La Duchesse d'Aiguillon*, p. 196.

the Bishops of Montpellier, Séez, Chartres, Saint Malo, and Nismes, all devoted to Richelieu, met for the purpose of discussing this knotty question, and for form's sake they consulted the most eminent doctors of the Sorbonne, and also the heads of the religious congregations. The decision, as a matter of course, was given annulling the marriage, with one dissentient voice—that of Saint-Cyran. Careless of exciting Richelieu's wrath, he exclaimed that he would have rather killed ten men than joined in a resolution which destroyed one of the sacraments of the Church.* Finally, there was to take into account certain propositions put forth by the courageous *abbé* on the relations between the temporal and the spiritual power, and the constitution of the great Christian Republic. Richelieu looked upon Saint-Cyran as the founder of a new heresy, as a new Calvin whom it was necessary to nip in the bud; and it is said that, on giving the order for his arrest, he remarked that *if Luther and Calvin had been sent to prison as soon as they began to dogmatize, the States of Christendom would have been spared many troubles.*

The liberties of the Gallican Church, therefore, as explained by Pithou and Dupuy, form the standpoint at which Richelieu placed himself; their chief characteristic was the absolute refusal to recognize the authority of the Pope in things temporal, and a firm determination to keep untouched the principle of national sovereignty. This course of

* Jervis: *History of the Church of France*, vol. i. pp. 357-359.

proceedings involved very serious consequences, as will be seen from the following statement, which we quote nearly in the words of an author to whom we have already alluded. "The Church must relinquish her ancient independence in one of its most important particulars, namely, the immunity of her ministers from the jurisdiction of the secular tribunals. The Crown enjoys the principle of nominating directly the bishops and other chief dignitaries throughout the realm. All official acts proceeding from the Roman *curia* must be 'verified' by the Parliament, and sanctioned by the Council of State, before they can receive their execution. No bull or rescript can be published, no canons of a council received as binding, no legate admitted to discharge his mission as the Pope's representative, without undergoing this test of conformity with the maxims of the civil constitution. Added to which, all the proceedings of ecclesiastical authorities must be kept in strict control by the expedient of the '*appel comme d'abus*.'" * These guarantees so weighty, if we consider them aright, had been already obtained in part, though with the utmost difficulty, by Saint Louis and Philip the Fair; but the aim of the Vatican had always been to return to the old order of things, and to gain back, if possible, the privileges which had been wrested from the Papacy by force or by superior diplomatic cunning. It was necessary, therefore, to make it quite clear

* Jervis: *History of the Church of France*, vol. i. p. 202.

that the doctrines of Ultramontanism would on no account be tolerated within the realm, and that the maxims pleaded by the *Ligueurs* must be stamped out at any cost.

Unfortunately the distinguished legists who, writing on the Gallican side, maintained against the court of Rome the independence of the national Church and the rights of the sovereign, exaggerated the application of their own maxims, and virtually put themselves forward as the champions of Erastianism. The kingship was for them the symbol, not only of political, but of religious unity, and their favourite motto was the old adage, "*Une foi, une loi, un roi.*" Thus we have the system of a State religion established, and the monarch bound to defend, by force of arms, the unity of the national faith as well as the territorial integrity of the kingdom. "The protection and defence of the Church," says Bret, "has been committed to kings, and they pledge themselves to maintain and preserve it by all the means in their power." "The kings of France," says Pasquier, "have always been regarded as the generals and superintendents of the Church."

Richelieu's plan was not to exclude from the administration of State affairs either the nobility or the clergy; we have seen that even at the head of the French armies or on board the fleet, posts of trust were committed to ecclesiastics high in dignity. What he insisted upon is that neither the clergy nor the aristocracy should get into the

way of placing the interests of the State in a subordinate position to those of their own caste. For instance, the clergy interpreting according to their own particular views the theory of the Gallican liberties, maintained indeed their freedom of action in their relations with the Vatican, but they wanted to assume exactly the same attitude towards the State; and they refused to the temporal power the right of interfering in their organization, and of submitting them to the same obligations as the rest of the community when the necessities of the Government required it. Now, that was exactly what Richelieu was bent upon destroying. The clergy, he maintained, must be in the State, must belong to the State, and must contribute in a fair proportion to the burden of the State; it must be an essentially national clergy. As a matter of consequence, in his unremitting efforts to establish the maxims of Gallicanism, the cardinal minister found the most cordial support in the Parliament which, on other points, was his bitterest enemy: and, on the other hand, he was abandoned by the majority of the clergy, who saw the loss of their own privileges in the enormous extension given to the civil power.

The question of subsidies and taxes was the rock on which the Gallican Church split. The Government had been so urgent in its application for money, that in 1625 a resolution was published by the assembly of the clergy to the effect that "for the future no deputy could on any pretext vote sub-

sidies, unless expressly authorized to do so, and that the opposition of one single province might annul and set at nought the decision of the assembly." Richelieu replied that he could not admit the principle by virtue of which the clergy claimed the privilege of absolute immunity. The wants of the State, he urged, were real, whilst those of the Church were fanciful and arbitrary; finally, if the king's troops had not driven back the enemy, the clergy would have suffered much more.

In 1638 the difficulty rose to still graver proportions. Richelieu proposed then to attack directly the immunities of the Church so far as taxation was concerned, and not to wait till a fresh assembly should take the initiative and formulate its grievances. By his direction two brothers, Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, the most eminent authorities of the day on ecclesiastical law, composed and published anonymously a work entitled: *Traité des Droits et des Libertés de l'Église Gallicane, avec les Preuves*, 1638, 3 vols. fol. The arguments put forward in this laborious treatise are those which we have already mentioned, and the two *collaborateurs* had very cleverly endeavoured to show that from the earliest times, when the conflict began between the temporal and the spiritual authorities, the nation had unanimously endorsed and supported the Gallican point of view. The publication of the *Traité des Droits* created an amount of irritation which we can well imagine amongst a body of men, high in office, enjoying

immense privileges, and trained in the mediæval doctrine that prayers were the only duty which the Church owed to the State. Monchal, archbishop of Toulouse, made himself the spokesman of his brethren; he revived the accusation brought forward against the cardinal, of aiming at creating for his own profit a patriarchate of France, and causing a new schism as in the days of Philip the Fair. The treatise *Des Droits et des Libertés*, he asserted, had been composed by the brothers Dupuy at Richelieu's express command; and, to tell the truth, it was scarcely possible that a work maintaining such decided principles on Church government, and leading to such serious results, should have been published if the prime minister had not at any rate given it his sanction. By a decree of the council bearing date Nov. 30, 1638, at the request of the Papal nuncio, the treatise was suppressed, *but only on the ground that it had been issued without a privilege;* and thus the Government cleverly avoided the necessity of pronouncing on the matter contained in the impugned work. Notwithstanding the sentence, the *Traité des Droits et Libertés* continued to be sold. On the ninth of February, 1639, eighteen bishops meeting at the house of Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld denounced once again the "diabolical work" (*cette œuvre du diable*), in a violent letter which la Rochefoucauld was bold enough to place in Richelieu's hand. The Bishop of Chartres, entirely devoted to the minister, and who supported him with all his

might in his work of reform, immediately collected together all the edicts which the kings of France from the earliest times had issued against the Church, and submitted them to Bullion, who was then superintendent of the finances. This was a severe blow to the opposing party, for in consequence of the investigations thus made, a fresh decree was issued ordering the immediate payment on the part of the clergy of all the royal and seignorial dues and taxes they owed on Church property, together with the arrears as far back as the year 1520. This represented, as the financier said, an amount of nearly 80,000,000 livres for the benefit of the State. Another measure of the same kind, requiring the payment of a perpetual guarantee instead of one which had been stipulated only for the space of five years by the clergy, carried the spirit of irritation to its extreme limits. Richelieu did not think it right to push any further the severity of his measures. A declaration issued January 7th, 1640, announced that the king would be satisfied with one sum of 3,600,000 livres, instead of the perpetual guarantee which had at first been threatened. This concession, however, proved to be merely a temporary one; and an obscure priest, named Hersent, was ill-advised enough to excite once more the Cardinal's animosity by the publication of a Latin treatise entitled *Optati Galli, seu de cavendo schismate, ad illustrissimos et reverendissimos Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ primates, archiepiscopos et episcopos liber paræneticus*. Dupuy rushed again to

the rescue, and the Parliament condemned the *Optatus Gallus*, including in its sentence the letter signed by the eighteen bishops who had denounced the treatise *Des libertés Gallicanes*.

The challenge thus thrown down by Hersent was promptly taken up by the temporal power; the 3,600,000 livres originally fixed by the king were deemed insufficient, and all holders of crown benefices were ordered to pay for two years into the national exchequer a sum representing the sixth of their income (October 6th, 1640). The edict was promulgated, and a court established at the Louvre for the purpose of carrying it out and assessing the tax. Berland, prior of Saint Denys de la Chartre, not having the keys of the record office where the previous lists of assessment had been deposited, ventured to break open the doors, secured these lists (including the one made in 1583), and took them to Bullion. As soon as the new schedule was drawn up, the signature of the agents of the clergy had to be obtained, and one of them, the Abbé de Saint Vincent, entered an opposition. This was quashed by a decree dated November 10th, which moreover prohibited the agents from holding any assembly, either public or private, without the king's permission. Thereupon Saint Vincent wrote a circular to the heads of the various dioceses, stating that all was lost. A resolution was passed to petition the Cardinal, the King, the Pope himself; public prayers in all the churches were ordered; in short,

the agitation amidst the clergy rose to a pitch which it is impossible to describe.

At that very time Richelieu was engaged in a terrible struggle with Austria and with Spain. He wanted money, but in the state of things then it was difficult, if not altogether hopeless, to obtain by violent means a grant from the clergy. He accordingly had to yield, and he consented to the summoning of an ecclesiastical assembly which would amicably, and so to say spontaneously, vote a supply. The assembly met at Mantes, at the commencement of the year 1641, and received with great dissatisfaction the statement that the Crown required the sum of 6,600,000 livres. A most stormy discussion followed, and D'Émeri, speaking in the king's name, commanded the archbishops of Sens and Toulouse, and the bishops of Évreux, Maillezais, Bazas, and Toulon, "to leave the town and retire to their respective dioceses, without presuming to pass through Paris." Finally, the government limited its claims to the sum of 5,500,000 livres, which was granted by the majority.

We see thus that, in the long run, Richelieu found himself obliged to yield; but circumstances were pressing, and he felt fettered to a very considerable extent. For this reason he also humoured the clergy on the subject of Dupuy's *Traité des libertés;* he openly authorized the publication of De Marca's celebrated work, *De concordiâ sacerdotii et imperii,* and accepted the dedication of it. This volume did full justice to Dupuy's erudition and sincerity,

but it went on to say that his views were only those of a private individual, that they were not sanctioned by the competent authority, and that the government could not be held responsible for the sentiments maintained either by Dupuy or by the various writers whose works he had collated or quoted.

After having thus followed Richelieu through his quarrel with the Gallican Church, we must now watch him in his struggles with the Vatican. In this case the Jesuits and their doctrines were the subject of the discussions; and the point to be settled was whether the detestable doctrines which had encouraged Jacques Clément and Ravaillac were to be not only tolerated, but freely circulated *cum privilegio*, as expressing the distinct views of the Papacy. The attitude taken by Richelieu in the war of the Valteline; the treaty he had made at Montpellier with the Huguenots, and at Monçon with the Spaniards, had irritated the Papacy, and excited the indignation of the still powerful faction which, in France, was devoted to the interests of Spain. Richelieu was openly designated as the *Cardinal of the Huguenots*, and publications of a violent kind were written with the sanction of the court of Rome to denounce him as entertaining the design of ruining the Roman Catholic Church by setting aside the supremacy of the Pope and establishing in France an independent Church. It would be tedious to enter here into details about this affair; we shall only mention the work of the Jesuit Sanctarel, published in 1626,

because it very nearly led to the most serious results for the order to which the writer belonged. It was entitled *De Hœresi, schismate, apostasia, sollicitatione in sacramento pœnitentiæ, et de potestate summi Pontificis in his delictis puniendis.* A copy of it having come under the notice of a staunch Gallican, Filesac, he discovered in it a number of propositions of a highly dangerous nature. All the maxims formerly condemned in Mariana, Suarez, Bellarmine and others were, he said, to be found there. It was, remarked Richelieu himself, the most dangerous book of the kind. It will be best to enumerate some of the points maintained by Sanctarel. When kings, emperors, and princes are unable to govern, the Pope can appoint curators to administer justice in their stead; he has the right even to punish them with the sentence of death; he may depose them for heresy, schism and other intolerable crimes; he may call them to account for insufficiency, or even for mere neglect in the discharge of business; in respect of humility, the Pope is indeed the servant of God's servants; but as far as power goes, he is the lord of lords; all power under the canopy of heaven is submitted to him, and if princes govern their states, it is merely by virtue of their holding a commission from the Holy Father, who might govern them himself if he could physically do so.*

No doubt the King of France was not named in Sanctarel's work, but as M. Perrens remarks, the

* Perrens, *L'église et l'état*, vol. ii.

offence was not the less real, and the fault not the less grave, because the author intended his remarks to apply to all temporal rulers indiscriminately. The Roman doctrines had never been more plainly, more dogmatically affirmed; and by an impudence which might well seem unparalleled, the moment selected by Sanctarel for the publication of his treatise, was precisely the one when a statesman thoroughly *French*, or rather *Gallican*, in his sympathies, had sufficiently established his power to crush all the designs of Ultramontanism. Richelieu determined upon proceeding severely against the work of Sanctarel, and we find in his memoirs curious evidence as to the impression it had made on his mind. Let us quote a few passages:

"These maxims are capable of ruining the whole Church of God, to which temporal power should be submitted by love which is the submission of grace, and not by force and constraint, which is the submission of hell. If they were reduced into practice there would be no safety for states. Who, indeed, is the prince who cannot be falsely accused of crimes, and still more of unfitness to govern, nay, of negligence in the discharge of his duties? Who could be the judge of such matters? Who could weigh them without passion and without prejudice? Certainly not the Pope, who is a temporal prince also, and who is not indifferent to earthly greatness. God alone is able to judge those cases, and therefore, when kings sin, it is against Him who alone is qualified to appreciate their actions. How

can the sovereign Pontiff have the right of punishing kings with the penalty of death, when they are the vicars of Jesus Christ, and pastors under Him who came into this world to give life abundantly, and to submit to death rather than inflict it? As to calling the Pope lord of lords, it is simply to transform him into a king of Persia, or a lieutenant of Mahomet. We may believe that the successor of Saint Peter would establish his authority much better if he stopped the zeal of writers who ascribe no limit to it, thereby giving occasion to many persons badly disposed towards the holy see to depreciate that authority far below what it ought to be. This St. Bernard expressly says when, addressing a Pope, he compares him to a rapacious creditor who wants to exact more than what is his lawful due; whereupon the debtor denies the claim altogether, and shows to the Pope that he who puts forth exaggerated pretensions often sees these pretensions reduced to nothing. It is useful in states to stop the circulation of books which tend to destroy the legitimate authority of kings, and contain maxims dangerous for their persons, whilst they are favourable to the Popes; but this should be done with as little noise and stir as possible; lest there should arise intemperate men who, under the pretext of defending the rights of the Church misunderstood by them, attack and denounce the rights of the best princes in the world."*

Richelieu, under the influence of such views,

* *Mémoires de Richelieu*, i. 368.

urged upon Louis XIII. the necessity of holding a bed of justice where, besides other business, Servin, the Advocate General, was to denounce Sanctarel's work. He was in the midst of a vehement criticism of it, and he was enumerating the Ultramontanist maxims for which the Jesuits were responsible, when he fell, struck by an apopletic fit, at the feet of Molé, the Solicitor General. Superstitious people saw of course in this a visitation of God; but Omer Talon, as grave and as calm as Servin was hasty and violent, went on with the accusation. Finally, a decree of the Parliament, dated March 13, 1626, condemned Sanctarel's book to be burned. A further edict was contemplated, prohibiting the Jesuits from trading, and even expelling them from the country; but their friends bestirred themselves, and the Solicitor General, Molé, declared that nothing would induce him to stoop to such an act of iniquity. A councillor named Deslandes prevailed upon some of his colleagues to separate themselves from the majority, for the strange reason that if the Jesuits had to leave France, other confessors must be selected for the King and the Queen mother. Finally, it was decided that on the next morning, March 14, Father Cotton, the provincial of the Jesuits, should be sent for to appear in court together with the three directors of Paris houses, Filleau, Brossald, and Armand. These four ecclesiastics did not come alone; fifteen more Jesuits accompanied them before Verdun, the senior president, including the celebrated Father Denis

Petau, and the no less celebrated Father Bauny, immortalized in Pascal's *Provinciales*. There, in the midst of an immense concourse of people, they had to submit to a long series of questionings and cross-questionings which ended in their disavowing both Sanctarel who had written the book, and their general who had approved it.

President Lamoignon had thought it right after the trial and condemnation of the inculpated work, to inform Father Cotton that it was ordered to be burned at the Place de Grève by the common hangman, and that a sentence of banishment would probably be pronounced against the order. This measure was well calculated to frighten the Jesuits; they agreed to the Gallican view of the authority of kings in matters temporal, and assented to all the Parliament required of them; but for the wary lawyers a verbal statement could not be enough; they knew something of the mental restrictions and reservations so familiar to Jesuits, and accordingly the deputations of fathers representing the whole body signed a declaration expressly condemning the theories propounded by Sanctarel. The examination to which they were subjected is extremely curious, and we reproduce it here from the pages of M. Perrens.*

The Gentlemen of the Parliament. Do you approve that wicked book of Sanctarellus?

Father Cotton. Far from it, gentlemen; we are ready to write against it, and to condemn all that

* ii. 405-407.

he says; in fact, ten copies of the work have come into our house, and we have destroyed them all.

The Parliament. Destroyed? Was it your duty to do so?

The Jesuits. We believed we could not do better.

The Parliament. Why did you not take them to the Chancellor or to the Senior President?

The Jesuits. Gentlemen, we are obliged and bound to many obediences which do not affect other religious orders.

The Parliament. Are you not aware that this wicked doctrine is approved by your general at Rome?

The Jesuits. Yes, gentlemen; but we who are here are not responsible for such an act of imprudence, which we condemn with all our might.

The Parliament. Now, answer plainly to the two following questions: Do you believe, yes or no, that the king enjoys all power within the limits of his dominions? Do you think that a foreign potentate may and can invade his realm and disturb the quiet of the Gallican Church in the person of his Majesty?

The Jesuits. No, gentlemen; we believe kings to be all-powerful, so far as temporal matters are concerned.

The Parliament. On the point of temporalities, speak honestly, and tell us if you believe that the Pope can excommunicate the King, release his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and give his dominions as a prey to others?

The Jesuits. Oh! gentlemen! as for excommunication, his Majesty, who is the eldest son of the Church, will take good care not to oblige the Pope to have recourse to such a step.

The Parliament. But your general, who has approved this book, considers the views just stated as infallible. Are you of a different opinion?

The Jesuits. Gentlemen, he who is in Rome, cannot do otherwise than approve what the Court of Rome approves.

The Parliament. And what is your belief?

The Jesuits. Entirely opposite.

The Parliament. Supposing you were at Rome, what would you do?

The Jesuits. We would do what those who are at Rome do.

The Parliament. Now, answer the question which has been put to you.

The Jesuits. Gentlemen, we beg of you to allow us to communicate together.

The Parliament. Go into this room.

They went, remained half an hour, and then returned into the court.

The Jesuits. Gentlemen, we adhere to the opinion of the Sorbonne, and shall subscribe the articles adopted by the clergy.

The Parliament. Draw up your declaration accordingly.

The Jesuits. We beg of you, gentlemen, to allow us a few days, in order that we may confer together.

The Parliament. Go; the Court allows you three days.

In addition to the declaration which the Jesuits subsequently signed by the express order of their superior, they were compelled, *before leaving the court,* to subscribe the three following propositions:— 1st, The King holds his dominions only of God and of his sword; 2nd, The King acknowledges no superior in his kingdom, save God alone; 3rd, The Pope can neither place the kingdom under interdict, nor release the subjects of the king from their oath of allegiance for any cause or occasion whatever. "These propositions," M. Perrens adds, "are an abstract of the doctrine held by the *tiers-état* in the States-general of 1614, and the assembly of the clergy was required to maintain them in 1682 under the government of Louis XIV. Nothing could be more repugnant to the Jesuits, but there was no help, and they had to bend humbly before Richelieu's inflexible will."

This severe blow hastened the death of Father Cotton, who, at that time, was very unwell. When a law officer came to inform him of the decision of Parliament, he listened to it, and then murmured: "Must it come to this, that I who, for the space of thirty years, have served two kings of France with such fidelity, should go to the grave as a disturber of the public quiet, and as a criminal suspected of high treason!" He died the next day.

Together with all the faults and dangerous parts which are characteristic of Jesuitism, there is no

doubt that Father Cotton possessed eminent qualities; (§) he had, besides, rendered on various occasions signal services to the State; his memory therefore was held in high respect even by his political adversaries, but at the same time the Parliament was implacable in its resolution to suppress the book of Sanctarel. The decree of the court ordering its condemnation was directed to be read aloud in all the schools and colleges on the re-assembling of the classes; any doctor, licentiate, master of arts or student known to have criticised that decree was liable to degradation.

The Gallicans fondly imagined that Richelieu intended to follow up this measure by the absolute and complete suppression of the Jesuits; they were mistaken; the cardinal did not wish to compromise the signal victory he had just gained, and he merely took the necessary steps for preventing a powerful order from going beyond the bounds of justice and of prudence. With Father Cotton, besides, they had lost one of the few really able superiors they had had for a long time, and although the pen-and-ink warfare never entirely ceased, it dwindled down gradually to comparatively insignificant proportions.

The destruction of the Huguenots as a political party was, the minister thought, a service rendered to Roman Catholicism which justified his wishing to obtain in France an exceptional position. He wanted to be named Legate for the Holy See, as Cardinal d'Amboise had been during the reign of

Louis XII.(§) This distinction was refused, neither could he obtain the legation of Avignon, nor the post of coadjutor of the elector of Trèves. His endeavour to assume the supreme direction of all the religious orders established within the realm was also steadily thwarted by Urban VIII., who moreover would never consent to bestow the cardinal's hat upon Richelieu's faithful confidant, the Capuchin friar Joseph, and who, finally, refused to annul the marriage of Gaston, Duke d'Orléans with the Princess of Lorraine. We thus see that the relations between the court of the Louvre and the Vatican were becoming excessively strained, when a fresh incident well nigh brought about an open rupture.

Of the Pope's two nephews, the elder, Francesco Barberini, entrusted with high political powers, was regarded as entirely devoted to the views of Spain, whilst Antonio, the younger, threw all his influence on the side of France. Louis XIII. wished to have him named *protector* of the kingdom, but the Pope, instead of giving his consent, listened to the suggestions of the Spanish government, recalled Mazarin, who had been appointed extraordinary nuncio to the court of France through the influence of Antonio Barberini, and who was accused of furthering exclusively the interests of Louis XIII. Following the advice of both Mazarin and Antonio Barberini, the King of France resolved to send to Rome as his ambassador a diplomatist who would defend with more earnestness than his predecessors the interests of the nation; and he selected for the

purpose Marshal d'Estrées, who had already found himself opposed to the Court of Rome about the questions of the Valteline. This was clearly an act of defiance, and only a pretext was wanted to occasion a quarrel. It soon took place. One of the servants of the ambassador was killed in a scuffle with some agents of the Roman police, and his head having been exposed, as that of a malefactor, on the bridge of Saint Angelo, the ambassador denounced the proceeding as a violation of international rights, and ceased all relations with the Vatican (October, 1639). In the meanwhile the Pope refused to grant the usual funereal honours to Cardinal La Valette who had died on the field of battle, fighting, without a regular dispensation. This last act was too much for Richelieu's patience. Louis XIII. refused to see the nuncio, and prohibited the prelates of the realm from holding any intercourse with the representatives of the court of Rome. The whole arsenal of Gallicanism was ransacked for weapons against the Pope; De Marca went even so far as to propose that all the churches should be required to place within the hands of the King the right of electing their bishops—a right which they had enjoyed previous to the introduction of the *concordat;* the *concordat* itself would have been annulled as abusive, and a national council summoned with power to elect a patriarch, which, of course, could be none else but Richelieu.

At this intelligence, the cardinal's enemies rose to a man, and denounced the new *Luther*. To this

epoch belongs the treatise entitled *Optatus Gallus*, which we have already alluded to, and which was sent by the minister to four theologians who were directed to refute it. Strange to relate, the writer whose answer pleased Richelieu most was a French Jesuit, Father Michel Rabardeau. He was bold enough to assert that the creation of a patriarch had nothing schismatic about it, and that the consent of Rome for that purpose was no more necessary than it had been when the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem were appointed. Richelieu's firm attitude frightened Urban VIII.; he sent Mazarin to France with the view of paving the way to a reconciliation; D'Estrées received the necessary satisfaction, and a cardinal's hat was given to the negociator.

Reforms of every kind affecting matters of discipline, administration, teaching, etc., were introduced by the prime minister into the Gallican Church. By a papal bull obtained in 1634 at the request of the king, residence was strictly enforced upon all priests having cure of souls; a decree bearing date 1629 provided for the salaries and income of the clergy in rural districts; the number of monasteries, abbeys, and conventual houses was henceforth limited, and those existing compelled to the strict observance of their rules; every diocese was provided with a theological school; assemblies of the clergy were brought more immediately under the control of the temporal power, etc., etc. In short, whilst every protection and every encouragement

was given to the Church, its members were distinctly made to understand that they belonged to a national establishment, that they were *Gallicans*, and that they must not look to Rome for their watchword.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARISTOCRACY.

"THERE is no prince," says Richelieu, "who would care to see in his dominions a great power which he had not raised himself, and which he had reason to believe was independent of his own authority." * This short but suggestive passage clearly expresses the motive of the relentless war which the kings of France waged against the aristocracy. If, on the one hand, their perseverance secured to them the victory, on the other the continual *effacement* of their adversaries helped very much towards the result they had in view.

We must never lose sight of the great difference which has existed from the beginning between the French aristocracy, and that of other European nations—Spain, for instance, and England. During the period of the Carolingian dynasty, the king or emperor had, over the dukes and counts whom he had created, the advantages resulting from social position, and from the fact that he conferred a

* *Mémoires*, p. 150.

benefit upon a *subordinate* whenever he bestowed a fief, or a grant of land. The accession of Hugh Capet and of the third dynasty entirely changed this state of things. The feudal lords then were, in the strict sense of the word, the *comites*, the companions and equals of the sovereign. The family of Hugh Capet boasted neither of a more illustrious origin nor of larger territorial possessions than many of the houses existing then. It was something very much like an usurpation which had brought the Duke of France to the throne, and there was no possible reason why the Dukes of Normandy or of Aquitaine, the Counts of Flanders or of Toulouse, should send in their submission to him unconditionally and without discussion. Hugh Capet was an extremely clever prince, no doubt; but supposing that the Duke of Normandy had been equally able, what then? As a matter of fact, the heir of Rollo, who held his domains from the Carolingian princes quite as regularly as the Duke of France held his, absolutely refused to do homage to a prince whom he regarded as his equal. Till the extinction of the great feudal houses of the first period, the King of France was only so by name.

Viscount d'Avenel, to whom we are indebted for these remarks,* adds that from this point of view no comparison is possible between the aristocracy of England and that of France. The English nobles, all of Norman descent, were, consequently,

* *Richelieu et la monarchie absolue*, i. pp. 259, 260.

the vassals of William the Conqueror; there was then originally a broad line of demarcation between the king and the lords, and none of these would ever have claimed to be equal to the sovereign. In France, on the contrary, the position of the king and of the aristocracy was for the space of six centuries one of constant antagonism, and this struggle could end only by the destruction of the royal authority or by that of its adversaries. "It is a certain thing," says the Duke de Rohan, "that in every realm the authority of the sovereign diminishes that of the nobles, as also the increase of the power of these lessens the influence of the monarch; it is a balance which cannot remain equal, one of the scales must, in the long run, overweigh the other." *

When Richelieu came to power the Dukes de Guise, d'Elbeuf, de Chevreuse, de Nevers, de Nemours, de Longueville, de Rohan, de Bouillon, de Montmorency, were personages whose position in the State was not to be disregarded; what the king required of them was *fidelity;* the cardinal managed so well in his levelling work that Louis XIV., later on, exacted absolute and unreserved *submission*. A few instances will show to what an extent was carried, during the reign of Henry IV. and at the beginning of that of Louis XIII., the absurd pretension of equality which the nobles insisted upon maintaining between themselves and the king. The Duke d'Épernon had been ordered

* *Mémoires*, edit. Michaud, p. 521.

to remain at Metz for the purpose of securing the freedom of communications with Germany; he answered somewhat impertinently: "I do not think myself so little esteemed by your Majesty that you should make use of me just to send with greater security parcels across the frontier." Bassompierre, one day, took it into his head that Louis XIII. treated him with intentional coldness. "Is it deliberately, sire," he asked, "that you look so cross at me, or are you only joking?" Du Haillan had on another occasion ventured to ask Henry IV. for a living. "Sire," said he, "you confer favours upon traitors, and you neglect your true servants." "*Pardieu*," answered the king in a fit of temper, "I confer favours upon whom I please!" "True, sire, but it ought to please you to single out men of my quality." In 1621, by way of a joke, the Duke de Bellegarde, wishing to frighten the Queen, came slowly behind her at the Tuileries, and dropped upon her hair some sweetmeats which he had in his pocket. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the English ambassador, who witnessed the scene, seemed rather surprised at such a liberty. The difference which took place in the position of the French aristocracy between the commencement and the end of the seventeenth century may be judged from this single fact: the Constable de Montmorency had refused to sanction the marriage of his son with Mademoiselle de Verneuil, natural daughter of Henry IV.; under Louis XIV., the

natural daughters of *le grand Monarque* married the Duke d'Orléans and the Prince de Conti.

Much has been said about the *rights* of the nobility, and Count Montlosier (*la Monarchie Française*) complains that so far as France was concerned, these rights had been entirely, and, as he thinks, unjustly, done away with; but we must ever bear in mind that no right is lawful unless it is profitable, not only to those who enjoy it, but to the mass of the nation. When a right has no longer any valid *raison d'être*, it becomes dangerous as much for those who possess it as for those at whose expense it is exercised; it is thus doomed to disappear, and, in most cases, it does disappear; it would be a great misfortune if it was to be maintained when the motives which once justified its existence no longer subsist. The political privileges of the nobility, perfectly legitimate during the Middle Ages, were gradually and necessarily suppressed; and when Louis XIII. came to the throne none of them subsisted. We must remember further that by obstinately keeping aloof from the *bourgeoisie*, the aristocracy had deprived itself of an element of renovation and of rejuvenescence which would certainly have proved most advantageous to them. A writer of the sixteenth century, Seyssel, said very wisely that "people of low estate should be encouraged and excited by the hope of reaching to the highest positions through virtue and industry." The system of exclusion, the spirit of caste practised so unadvisedly by the

French *noblesse*, brought speedily about the decay of that *noblesse*. Thinking that the profession of arms was the only one worthy of a *gentilhomme*, they would have nothing to do with matters pertaining to finances, diplomacy, or public instruction, much less with trade or industry. A man of high rank might be sent as ambassador extraordinary, and only for a limited period, but never to occupy a permanent diplomatic post. In the course of a campaign a general sometimes negotiated directly with the enemy, but it would be impossible to find one *gentilhomme* on the lists of diplomatists during the reign of Louis XIII. Servien, Miré, Blainville, Liberet, Charnacé, Saint-Étienne d'Avaux, were all men either quite recently provided with a patent of nobility, or of humble origin. Their merit was their sole recommendation. The most humble *gentilhomme* would have scorned to act as the secretary of an ambassador. We have already given our readers some information as to the condition of the clergy; it was no doubt a branch of the public service permanently open to the nobility; but the bench of bishops and the other dignitaries were recruited from the younger sons of great families, and the wonder is, not that the number of unworthy prelates should have been so great, but that any evangelical pastors should have been found at all. The magistracy was another opening; but the principal offices connected with it were, so to say, the property of a few families who had possessed them from time immemorial;(§)the

remaining ones formed a kind of stepping-stone for ambitious *parvenus* anxious to raise themselves a little higher than the *bourgeoisie*. Besides, as in the army and in the law all offices were venal, noblemen with their naturally fighting propensities were more inclined to purchase a regiment than a presidency. There was a smaller outlay, to begin with, and hopes of promotion were greater.

In short, at the beginning of the reign of Louis XIII., the French aristocracy stood in a very serious predicament; they had lost their political rights, and the privileges they enjoyed belonged to them, not by virtue of services they rendered to the State, but as outward signs of their social position. Their destiny depended upon the manner in which they would demean themselves in the presence of a minister, like Richelieu, who remembered the difficulties which the aristocracy had created to the Government during the reign of Henry IV., and who was not inclined to see these difficulties renewed. Unfortunately the *noblesse* had become careless of everything except pleasure and vanity; (§) instead of setting the example of discipline, propriety, and respect for authority, they did the reverse; their ambition was not to help in the framing of laws, but to set the laws at defiance on every possible occasion; they seemed to take a pleasure, nay, a pride, in assuming the pretended right of being above the action of the Government. This was more than an excuse for Richelieu's severity. What was the use of noblemen going

about in state, accompanied by bands of noisy adventurers always ready to back them up in their quarrels, to obey their slightest orders, and to assist them blindly in any attempt they might choose to make against the king, his agents, or the various representatives of the public authority? Pages and retainers in those days were not only a sign of social rank, but a means of substantial influence. The pages of a nobleman were not his courtiers, his parasites, but his *domestics*, to take the word in its higher meaning. They were fed and maintained by him; he pushed them on in the world, looked after their comforts, and made their interests his own. In return, the dependents we have thus described followed blindly their master in all the vicissitudes of his often stormy political life; if he thought proper to rebel against the crown, they did the same, and when subsequently he had made his peace with the king, he stipulated for them as well as for himself, and they were, as a matter of course, included in any arrangement which might be contrived. The members of a large family, nephews, cousins of every degree, stepsons, godsons, etc., formed a ready army which might, under certain circumstances, give a great deal of trouble, and even imperil the safety of the State, or at all events interfere with the rightful action of the police. Thus, in 1637, the Marquis de Mirepoix and the lord of Monssolens scoured the country at the head of a hundred of their retainers; whenever the Duke d'Épernon

visited Richelieu, it was at the head of two hundred *gentilshommes*, who accompanied him as far as the gate. At the siege of La Rochelle the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Governor of Poitou, issued orders to assemble the *noblesse* of the province. In the space of four days he got together fifteen hundred men, whom he introduced to the king, saying, "Sire, there is not one of these who is not a relation of mine." The next year Richelieu, feeling the danger of leaving so powerful a person in charge of the government of Poitou, removed him to other duties. Domesticity was the origin of some of the proudest French families. Toiras, who became Governor of Auvergne and Marshal of France, began by discharging the duties of page in the household of Monsieur le Prince, and he then became the retainer of the Marquis de Courtenvaux, living at his board, training his sons, and looking after his pack of hounds.

Enough, we think, has been said to show that, at any given time, the aristocracy might have been a source of real and serious annoyance to the king; and the two or three episodes we are about to relate will prove that the danger still existed; but at the same time it could not possibly prove of a permanent character. The representatives of the French *noblesse*, by throwing all their weight on the side of the Reformation, had endeavoured to conquer back the influence which their predecessors had enjoyed during the Middle Ages; the very fact that they had failed in their attempt proves con-

clusively what we have endeavoured to make quite clear, namely, that their day had gone for ever. They had lost the two principles which make up the strength of political parties; unity of purpose, and homogeneity of elements.

A great many of the most influential representatives of the nobility resented very naturally Richelieu's high-handed policy; they knew perfectly well that his aim was to destroy them *as a party*, and they complained bitterly of the humiliation to which they were reduced; they ascribed to feelings of petty resentment what was really in a great measure the work of time. The *cahiers* of grievances presented to the king by the States-general of 1626 are conclusive on the subject; and although many of the requests made were inadmissible, yet it is quite certain, on the other hand, that if the aristocracy were to be regarded as a necessary factor in the political edifice, it should be allowed to retain some of its prestige.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Richelieu wanted to destroy the nobility; his only wish was to keep it in check. He saw in it "one of the forces of the State capable of contributing in a very important matter to its preservation and its usefulness." * Like many of the ablest politicians of the day, he thought that the members of the nobility were better qualified than the *bourgeoisie* to perform certain duties and occupy certain offices. "In order to have a model bishop," says

* *Testament politique*, vol. i. p. 184, edit. of 1764.

he, "one requires a man learned, full of piety and of zeal, and of good birth, because as a general rule the authority required for the due discharge of these functions is found only amongst persons of quality." * "When a nobleman is virtuous"—we still quote from the *Testament politique*—"he has often a special desire for honour and glory, which produces the same effect as the zeal caused by the mere love of God; he lives with a certain amount of state, and with liberality, and he knows better how to deal and converse with the world." Richelieu goes even so far as to say that, if a choice is to be made between two candidates equally irreproachable so far as morals are concerned, dignity of birth and the authority which usually accompanies that dignity should be preferred to science. †

The cardinal, then, had determined upon restoring to the French *noblesse* its proper rank in the constitution of the body politic, but he had equally made up his mind that it should no longer be a cause of danger to the crown; and, unfortunately, plenty of opportunities presented themselves to show to the world that he was thoroughly in earnest on this latter point. The first coincided with a plan which had been entertained for some time at court, respecting the marriage of Gaston, Duke d'Orléans. The queen's mother, following an idea already conceived by Henry IV., had thought of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and Richelieu was disposed to favour the realization of that scheme.

* *Ibid.* † Vol. i. p. 106 and foll.

It was quite sufficient to bring about the formation of a cabal in which the interests of the courts of Spain, Savoy, England, and even the Netherlands were mixed up. As the cardinal was decidedly opposed to a matrimonial union of Gaston with a foreign princess, the incident we are now describing assumed all the proportions of a political dispute. With the view of turning away from the contemplated scheme the frivolous mind of the young prince, Madame de Chevreuse, Madame de la Valette, the Princess de Condé, and the Princess de Conti appealed to the vanity of Marshal d'Ornano, who had been Gaston's tutor, and was now superintendent of his household. Fontenay-Mareuil tells us that any one seeing these ladies busy around an ugly old man of fifty would have thought that they really were anxious to seduce him, "which charmed so much the conceited fool, that he could not refuse them anything."

The plan the conspirators meant to carry out amounted to this: Gaston was to ask, in the first place, the right of sitting at the council board, where, by afterwards introducing D'Ornano, there was some hope of counteracting, and perhaps destroying the influence of the cardinal minister. Should this plan be unsuccessful, the whole party intended to leave the court, summon their friends, fly to arms, kill the cardinal, shut up the king in a convent, and, during his own lifetime, obtain a dispensation from the Pope, by virtue of which Gaston would marry Anne of Austria. Duly in-

formed of this extraordinary plot, Richelieu easily prevailed upon Louis XIII. to take energetic measures. On the 4th of May, 1626, Marshal d'Ornano, on his return from hunting, was arrested at Fontainebleau, and locked up at Vincennes; his two brothers and a few subaltern agents were sent to the Bastille. The scheme thus apparently crushed, was soon started again, and there is no doubt that Richelieu's life was seriously threatened; the Count de Chalais, the two Vendômes, sons of Henry IV. by Gabrielle d'Estrées, the one grand-prior of France, the other governor of Brittany, joined in the conspiracy, the Duchess de Chevreuse and the Count de Soissons followed their example. Richelieu, who saw the storm thickening, pretended to yield, and offered his resignation to Louis XIII.; the king answered by a written assurance of implicit trust in the cardinal, and a promise of support against all those who might be induced to attack him. On the 12th of June, both the Vendômes were arrested and sent to Amboise, the Duchess de Chevreuse was banished, and D'Ornano died at the Bastille, "non sans soupçon de mort violente." Chalais, beheaded at Nantes, suffered the most horrible tortures; the executioner was so clumsy that thirty-four times the axe fell before the unfortunate nobleman expired; at the twentieth stroke his groans were still distinctly heard. There was even a kind of trial instituted against the queen. Louis read over to her, in the presence of the cardinal, the evidence which accused her of

having entertained the thought of marrying his brother. She answered contemptuously that she would not have gained sufficiently by the bargain. Threatened with a sentence of divorce, surrounded by spies, she was publicly prohibited from receiving any men in her room when the king was not there. Meanwhile the Duke d'Orléans, anxious about his own safety, having lost all his credit, and being thoroughly disgraced in the opinion of all right-minded men, hastened to give witness against Chalais and d'Ornano; he promised to do exactly what might be required of him, even to reveal whatever should be said in his presence against either the king or the cardinal, and in order that this sad tragedy should conclude with a comedy, he married Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the ceremony being performed by Richelieu.

The year 1626 was marked by an incident of an equally serious kind, although brought about by totally different circumstances, the duel between the Count de Bouteville and the Baron de Beuvron, which led to the beheading of the two champions on the Place de Grève. The passion for duelling, favoured by the weakness of a government which promulgated edicts, but never saw them carried into execution, had become a kind of epidemic; duels were fought for the most trifling causes—a glance, the colour of a doublet, sometimes even merely the absurd wish to make a display of courage and of skill in fencing. M. Victor Hugo has very strikingly illustrated this deplorable

mania in the following passage from his *Marion Delorme*:—

"Toujours nombre de duels. Le trois, c'était d'Angennes
Contre Arquien, pour avoir porté du point de Gênes;
Lavardin avec Pons s'est rencontré le dix
Pour avoir pris à Pons la femme de Sourdis;
Sourdis avec d'Ailly pour une du théâtre
De Mondori. Le neuf, Nogent avec La Châtre
Pour avoir mal écrit trois vers de Colletet;
Gorde avec Margaillan, pour l'heure qu'il était;
D'Humière avec Gondi pour le pas à l'église;
Et puis tous les Brissac contre tous les Soubise
À propos du pari d'un cheval contre un chien.
Enfin, Caussade avec Latournelle pour rien,
Pour le plaisir. Caussade a tué Latournelle."

The edict of 1609 had allowed duels to be fought, providing an inquiry was made, in the first instance, either by the king or by a special court (*tribunal d'honneur*); but as the majority of these encounters took place on the most trivial motives, the champions did not choose to state the pretended insults they felt bound to avenge sword in hand. Duels were of daily occurrence, by day and by night, in the streets and the public squares, by moonlight, by torchlight. (§) Montaigne has wittily said, "Send three Frenchmen in the wilderness of Libya, they will not be a month there without annoying and scratching each other." * During the States-general of 1614, the deputies of the *three orders* had petitioned for the suppression of this intolerable disorder; Richelieu who lost no opportunity of holding the nobility in check, and

* *Essais*, ii. 27.

taming its turbulent spirit, promised to satisfy the petitioners. In February, 1626, an edict was published doing away with the system adopted by Henry IV. in his decree of 1609: duelling was absolutely prohibited; all offenders were to be deprived of their posts and pensions, and sentenced to three years' banishment; one-third of their property was to be confiscated, and a reward given to informers. No difference was made between those who fought duels within the frontiers of the kingdom and those who went abroad for greater safety. The death of one of the champions involved a sentence of capital punishment against the other; the renewal of the offence was punished in the same manner. Duellists thought that this new edict would meet with the same fate as all previous ones, and speedily become a dead letter; but they found themselves wofully mistaken.

We must not lose sight of the fact that if Richelieu prohibited duelling, he was only giving satisfaction to public opinion, which had for some time been very strongly expressed against the barbarous method adopted by the nobility of drawing the sword often as a mere pastime, and as we should say now, *to keep their hands in*. He had, himself, during the early part of his life, strongly felt the influence of those ideas on the *point d'honneur*, which were so popular amongst the *noblesse*, and upon which they prided themselves more perhaps than any other of their privileges, certainly quite as much. Thus in 1619, his eldest brother, the

Marquis de Richelieu, had been killed in a duel with the Marquis de Thémines, son of the marshal of the same name. The cardinal wrote an account of this incident with such spirit and such feeling, that we cannot help the persuasion that had it not been for his ecclesiastical character, he would have only been too delighted to join in the fray.

However, an example was absolutely necessary, and the affair of Bouteville furnished the opportunity. At the age of twenty-seven, François de Luxembourg had already fought *twenty-two* duels, and in the last his victim had been the young Count de Torigny. He had become a kind of living proverb. President de Chevry once answered to a man who was anxious to obtain satisfaction, *par les voies d'honneur*, "My brave fellow, if you are so eager to fight, go and pluck a hair from Bouteville's beard; he will soon bring you to your senses." Viscount d'Avenel remarks that the English, less admirers of brutal force than the Frenchmen of those days, saw in this "luxury of courage" (*luxe de bravoure*) nothing but a dangerous mania.* "If that fellow sent me a written challenge," said the Marquis of Hamilton, alluding to Bouteville, "I would not receive it unless it was accompanied by a note from his medical adviser, assuring me that this desire he has of fighting does not proceed from an illness." †

Bouteville, protected by the archduchess infanta,

* D'Avenel, *Richelieu et la monarchie absolue*, ii. 75.

† Richelieu, *Mémoires*, i. 447.

had fled into Flanders for the purpose of avoiding the condemnations he had incurred. That princess wrote a letter to Louis XIII., asking that her guest might be forgiven. The petition was refused. Irritated at what he regarded as a piece of impertinence, Bouteville boasted of his deliberate intention to fight in France, nay, in Paris, in the Place Royale. The affair came off on the 27th of May. There were three champions on each side. Bouteville had for his seconds his friend Count des Chapelles and his *écuyer* La Berthe; on the other side the Baron de Beuvron was the principal; Bussy d'Amboise fought against des Chapelles, and Chocquet was the adversary of La Berthe. Bussy was killed, the two domestics fled to England, whilst Bouteville and des Chapelles endeavoured to reach the frontier of Lorraine; they were arrested, however, at Vitry-le-Brûlé by Gordes, captain of the guards, who had recognized them, and who took them to the Bastille. A few days after, they were put on their trial. "The alternative is this," coolly remarked Richelieu in his report to the king; "either to cut the throat of duels, or to decapitate your majesty's edicts." The catastrophe could not be doubtful. Bouteville belonged to the Montmorency family; princes, noblemen, courtiers vainly attempted to intercede with the king on his behalf; he and his companions were condemned by virtue of a sentence of parliament, and beheaded on the Place de Grève, June 21, 1627.

It is curious to notice the way in which Riche-

lieu alludes to this event; he clearly sympathizes with the two unfortunate men whom he has sent to the scaffold; his own feelings as a *gentilhomme* are aroused, and Viscount d'Avenel very judiciously remarks that the bitterest enemy of the cardinal minister could not have used more powerful eloquence to excite the pity of the nation as to the tragic end of the duellists and to create indignation against Richelieu. "Never," says the memoirs, "did one see more constancy, less astonishment, more presence of mind, greater courage than in these two *gentilshommes*. They appeared before the court, and answered without being in the least confused; Count des Chapelles expressed himself with eloquence. . . . Nothing weak in their discourses, nothing low in their actions. They received the news of their condemnation with the same composure as they would have received that of their pardon. . . . The whole of France saw struck down by the most infamous sword in the realm those whose own weapons had always been so trusty that, without offending any one, we may honestly say that they were by far the best in the world." *

It was reckoned in 1609 that during the sixteen previous years four thousand gentlemen had been killed in duels; Richelieu's severity did not stop the evil, and it seemed as if the famous edict was applied reluctantly, and as seldom as possible. The catalogue of the *affaires d'honneur* which

* Richelieu, *Mémoires*, i. 451.

followed the death of Bouteville, if given at full length, would be tedious. Louvigny fights with impunity against Candale at Nantes; Praslin has a duel at Blois; Liancourt sends a challenge, *in the king's own palace*, to Crésias, one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber; a slight reprimand is the only punishment they get. The cardinal himself acknowledges that the king takes no notice of such cases, unless the law is scandalously and openly violated, and even then! . . . In 1631, the Dukes de Montmorency and de Chevreuse fight in the court-yard of the Château of Monceau, where Louis XIII. was at that time residing. They are separated, and merely ordered to spend a fortnight in their respective country mansions. In one single month of the year 1639, we have the duels of Armentières, Savignac, Boucault, Roquelaure, Chastellux, and many others, all unpunished. What could be expected of an age and a country where characters existed such as that M. d'Isencourt, who met with the following reply the petition of a young cavalier anxious to obtain the hand of his niece: "Sir, you are too young to marry yet. If you are anxious to become a thorough gentleman (*honnête homme*), you should first kill in single combat two or three adversaries; then you can marry and have two or three children, thus re-establishing the balance."

It required some time to bring about the reform and the final suppression of these barbarous customs; but they disappeared with the trans-

formation of the nobility; and under the reign of Louis XIV., the *habitués* of Versailles, Saint Germain, and Marly used their swords merely as ornaments of no more importance than their bands, their lace, and their periwigs.

In repressing the conspiracy of Chalais Richelieu had at one blow struck down Anne of Austria and the Duke d'Orléans; the turn of the queen-dowager came next. Mary de' Medici, our readers will remember, had been the principal cause of the cardinal's greatness; she had obtained for him a seat at the council board, and hoped to find in him a docile instrument of her caprices. When, however, she saw the minister directing all his energies towards State affairs, and refusing to listen to her whims, and to those of her second and favourite son Gaston, she resolved upon accomplishing the disgrace of him whom she called "an ungrateful servant." Never, says a contemporary document, was a faction so powerful in any State; it would be easier to name those who did not belong to it than those who did.* The king was at that time seriously ill, at Lyons; physicians and astrologers had said that he could not possibly recover, and, assembled around his bedside, Guise, Bassompierre, Bellegarde, and a number of other courtiers, were already speculating on the probable consequences of the cardinal's disgrace and death. Louis XIII., feeling that his own life was in a very precarious condition, sent for Montmorency and

* *Succincte narration.*

recommended to him the interests of the minister. A crisis meanwhile took place (September 30, 1630) and all causes of anxiety disappeared. The two queens, unremitting in their attentions to the invalid, asked in the name of gratitude the dismissal of a statesman to whom they ascribed both their own sufferings and the misfortunes of France. Weary of these ceaseless complaints, Louis hastily promised everything, asking only that the change contemplated in the direction of affairs might be postponed till after the war; at the same time he cautioned affectionately Richelieu that the queen-mother was dissatisfied with him, and he recommended to him a sincere reconciliation.* During the trip down the Loire from Roanne to Briare, Mary de' Medici and Richelieu were in the same boat. "She hoped," says Richelieu himself, "that she would more easily be able to have her own will and crush her servant with greater ease, the less he was on his guard against it; she looked at him with a kindly eye, accepted his dutiful attentions and respects as usual, and spoke to him with as much appearance of confidence as if she had wholly given it him." † The cardinal firmly believed that he had regained all his influence, but on the return of the royal party to Paris, the king was requested by his mother to keep his promise, the news of the relief of Casale seeming to foreshadow the end of the war. Exasperated by the resistance of her son, Mary de' Medici determined at any rate upon

* Brienne. † *Mémoires.*

proving to the cardinal that if he was not dismissed from office the fault was not on her side. On the 9th of November, the superintendence of her own household was taken away from Richelieu; his favourite niece, the Marchioness de Combalet, who also held a post at Court, was disgracefully insulted in the presence of the king, and expelled from the palace; the captains of the guards and other officers who had been appointed on Richelieu's recommendation, were dismissed. An interview granted to the cardinal only resulted in his being covered with abuse, and treated in the most ignominious manner by the wayward and infuriated queen. On the next day, Mary de' Medici, shutting herself up with Louis XIII., made a last effort to encompass her ends. The king requested his mother "to put off for six weeks or two months the grand move against the cardinal, for the sake of the affairs of his kingdom, which were then at their crisis," * when all of a sudden the cardinal arrived. "Finding the door of the chamber closed, he entered the gallery, and went and knocked at the door of the cabinet, where he obtained no answer. Tired of waiting, and knowing the ins and outs of the mansion, he entered by the little chapel, whereat the king was somewhat dismayed, and said to the queen in despair, 'Here he is!' thinking, no doubt, that he would blaze forth. The cardinal, who perceived their dismay, said to them, 'I am sure you were speaking about me.' The queen answered, 'We

* Bassompierre, *Mémoires*.

were not;' whereupon he having replied, 'Confess it, madame,' she said *yes*, and immediately conducted herself with great tartness towards him," * reproaching him in her half Italian, half French jargon for his duplicity and his ingratitude. Neither the tears nor the protestations of the cardinal were able to calm the passionate woman, who kept asking the king if he preferred "a lacquey to his own mother." As much frightened at the queen as at Richelieu, Louis XIII. left hurriedly the room, but in starting for his hunting box at Versailles, he ordered the keeper of the seals, Michel de Marillac, to accompany him. The whole court believed that the cardinal was irretrievably lost, and flocked to the Luxembourg where the queen-mother, instead of following the king, as prudence would have told her to do, and preventing him from being surrounded by other influences, was blazing forth her triumph. Messengers were despatched in all directions to spread the "Welcome news," and Richelieu, on his side, was busy giving orders to prepare for his own departure; he intended to go first to Pontoise, and from thence to Havre. At that moment Cardinal de la Valette came to him, urged him to stand firm even in the face of the dangers by which he appeared to be surrounded, and almost simultaneously a messenger despatched by Saint Simon, the father of the celebrated memoir-writer, arrived, ordering him to go to Versailles with all possible speed. "The queen had supposed," says Richelieu, "that

* Bassompierre, *Mémoires.*

her private authority as mother, and the pious affection and honour the king showed her as her son, would prevail over the public care, which he ought, as king, to take of his kingdom and his people. But God, who holds in his hands the hearts of princes, disposed things otherwise; his majesty resolved to defend his servant against the malice of those who prompted the queen to this wicked design." * The king on seeing him "showed such joy, and received him with such proofs of affection that he made him thoroughly to understand how ill-advised he would have been to adopt another course. He immediately closeted himself with Richelieu, and they both determined upon what was to be done under the circumstances, both within the realm and without." † Henceforth the alliance between the king and the cardinal was indissolubly sealed; the Luxembourg became as deserted as it had been thronged a few hours before, and the queen-mother found out that her last chance was gone. Such was the famous episode to which the name of *Journée des dupes* has been given; it had its victims just as the conspiracy of Chalais. The two brothers Marillac, the one keeper of the seals, the other Marshal of France, had been too prompt in joining Mary de' Medici's triumph; the former was dismissed from his office and arrested. He died of decline at Chateaudun. The latter, seized by Marshal Schomberg in the midst of the army he commanded in Piedmont, was transferred first

* *Mémoires.* † Fontenay Marcuil, *Mémoires*

to Sainte Menehould and afterwards to Verdun, where he had to stand his trial on a charge, not of treason, but of peculation. This was a crime of common occurrence in those days, and most generals contrived to enrich themselves either by defrauding their subordinates of their pay, or by receiving allowances in money and provisions for non-effective soldiers, etc. Public opinion was at all times very indignant at scandals of that kind, and received with unfeigned satisfaction the intelligence that a general had been found guilty and severely punished; it was therefore a clever move on the part of Richelieu to fasten upon Marillac an accusation which, whether well founded or not, would be certain to predispose everybody against him. "It is a very strange thing," exclaimed the marshal, "to persecute me as they do; my trial is a mere question of hay, straw, wood, stones, and lime. There is not case enough for whipping a servant." The marshal's trial lasted eighteen months, and the court of inquiry was transferred from Verdun to Ruel, in Richelieu's own house. Marillac was condemned to death by a majority of one voice only, and beheaded on the 10th of May, 1632. Mary de' Medici had been banished to Compiègne. When she saw herself finally abandoned by her son, she fled to Brussels, where she lived for a short time under the protection of the Spaniards, and died (1631) in a state almost bordering upon destitution.

Gaston had also left his native country, after pub-

lishing a violent manifesto against the cardinal. A few days only after the death of Marillac, he entered Burgundy at the head of a small army, crossed France, and effected a junction with the governor of Languedoc, the Duke de Montmorency, whom he had by dint of persuasion brought over to his side. The royal forces, commanded by Marshal Schomberg, met the rebels under the walls of Castelnaudary (September, 1682), and defeated them without much difficulty. Gaston fled at the first onset, throwing away his arms, and saying that "he would not engage any more in that sort of pastime." Montmorency thus abandoned, was taken, tried, and put to death, notwithstanding the petitions of the whole nobility. The Duke of Lorraine had to pay dearly for the consequences of this fresh attempt at rebellion: Louis XIII. took Bar-le-Duc and quartered troops in Lorraine (1634), which remained occupied by France till the end of the century. As for Gaston, *being of the royal blood of France which must be respected*, he once more escaped, but was ordered to take up his residence at Blois. The birth of Louis XIV. four years later (September 15, 1638) deprived him of the title and hopes of heir presumptive to the crown. Chancellor Châteauneuf, (§) whose power dated only from the *Journée des dupes*, was shut up as a prisoner at the castle of Angoulême, and his nephew Louville at the Bastille; the Chevalier de Jars, condemned to death, received his pardon whilst he was actually on the scaffold, and the

Duchess de Chevreuse was once more sent into exile. The panic had become so great that Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded an army in Germany, having seen a letter directed to one of his lieutenants, fancied he was about to meet with the same fate as Marillac; he abandoned his soldiers, and obtained his pardon for so doing only by the comical account he gave to the king and cardinal of the terror which had seized hold of him.

Louis XIII. had always been of a reserved, timid and melancholy disposition; his nature formed the most perfect contrast imaginable to that of the "*vert galant*" his father; the very idea of irregularity in conduct was most repugnant to him, and he would not have deigned even to cast his eyes for a moment upon the fascinating but questionable beauties who formed the court of his mother and of his wife. Amongst these retainers of the court he soon distinguished, however, a young lady whose modesty and beauty combined had already created quite a sensation in the fashionable world; and who was so gentle, so quiet, so retired in her manners that she seemed more fitted for the cloister than for the gaieties of the Louvre. That lady was Marie de Hautefort, youngest child of the Marquis Charles de Hautefort, *Mareschal des camps et armées* of the king, and gentleman in ordinary of the royal bedchamber. Marie was left an orphan at a very tender age, and without much fortune, under the care of her grandmother, Madame de la Flotte Hauterive. Her early years were spent amidst the

dulness of a country town; she heard a good deal about the court and its pleasures, and with all the eagerness of a child she longed to know something about that Louvre and that Saint Germain which she had learned to consider as a kind of fairy-land. Sincerely pious, she tells us at the same time that when she was only eleven or twelve years of age, she used to retire to her room for the purpose of praying God fervently that He might make her go to court. Her request was answered. Called on business to Paris, Madame de la Flotte Hauterive took with her Marie de Hautefort, who as soon as she arrived, became a centre of attraction. She won specially the affection of a lady celebrated by her beauty, her wit and, unfortunately, by the scandal of her life; Louise Marguerite de Guise, daughter of the *Balafré*, Princess de Conti, the acknowledged mistress of Marshal Bassompierre. All the fashionables of the metropolis were anxious to know who that young girl was sitting in the carriage of the Princess de Conti, as that lady drove to the abbey of Longchamps or through the glades of the forest of Saint Germain. She was only twelve years old when the queen-mother, Mary de' Medici chose her to be one of her maids of honour, and she soon displayed in her new and difficult position qualities which secured to her the affection of all those into whose company she was thrown, just as much as her graces had called forth their admiration. She combined firmness of character with the greatest and the most dis-

criminating generosity; her piety was equalled by her wit, and the dignity of her deportment borrowed additional charms from her modesty and her reserve. During the course of the year 1630 she followed the queen-dowager to Lyons, where the king had fallen seriously ill, whilst Richelieu was at the head of the troops in Italy. Louis XIII. had not yet met Mademoiselle de Hautefort; it was at Lyons that he saw her for the first time, and he soon conceived for her an attachment of the most romantic nature. (§) He could not bear her being out of his sight, so much so that when, after the *Journée des dupes*, and in consequence of it, Mary de' Medici was exiled, he removed Mademoiselle de Hautefort from her service, and placed her in the household of Anne of Austria, conferring at the same time upon Madame de la Flotte Hauterive a position at court in the stead of Madame du Fargis.*

Mademoiselle de Hautefort's position at court was one of extreme delicacy, and attended even with considerable danger. She had become sincerely attached to the queen, Anne of Austria, and the feeling she entertained for her was the cause of endless disputes between herself and Louis XIII. The king had no affection whatever for his wife. In the first place he knew that she was the cardinal's bitter enemy, and although he himself often resented Richelieu's haughty ways, his absolute disposition and his passion for command,

* Victor Cousin, *Madame de Hautefort.*

yet he uniformly supported him, being quite conscious that his system of policy was dictated by zeal for the good of the State. The affair of Chalais was another cause of estrangement—and a more personal one—between Louis XIII. and his queen. Thoroughly convinced that Mary de' Medici shared the political opinions of Gaston, Duke d'Orléans, and helped him in all his plots against the government, he believed, besides, as we have stated above, that she would have gladly married him had circumstances allowed her to do so, and that she secretly hoped for the death of a king who seemed a confirmed valetudinarian. Influenced by these various motives, Louis XIII. did his best to detach Mademoiselle de Hautefort from her affections for a mistress whom he painted in the most unfavourable colours, and he would not or could not see that the greater the efforts he made in this direction, the more determined the *demoiselle d'honneur* was in her resolution not to desert an unfortunate and persecuted queen.

Then, in addition to the assiduities of Louis XIII., the young girl had to contend with the cardinal's ill-will. He had been delighted, in the first instance, by the king's affection for a child who belonged to no political party, and whose character he had not been able to penetrate. He hoped that such an influence would have the double result, first, of subduing the wayward, fantastic and morose temper of Louis XIII., and of procuring to him, Richelieu, an ally who would disclose to him

all the secrets of the court, and act as a spy on the queen. He accordingly professed the greatest interest in Mademoiselle de Hautefort, loaded her with compliments and other marks of favour, thus rendering jealous all the ambitious ladies whom one single glance from Richelieu would have made happy for ever. It was dangerous trifling with so powerful a man as the cardinal: yet our heroine did not hesitate to do so, and she who had resisted the insinuations made by Louis XIII. against the queen, would not condescend to act as the tool of the prime minister. Let us add that she knew absolutely nothing about the complicated politics of the day: the difficulties of the Thirty Years' war, the rival interests of France and of Spain, the relations of the French government with England and Lorraine, were things she could not understand. All her knowledge amounted to this: the queen was persecuted and ill-used by her husband without having given him the slightest excuse for doing so: she was oppressed by Richelieu, and held as a kind of prisoner in her own palace, when she was not an exile and an outcast. Under these circumstances it was perfectly natural that she should defend herself with every available weapon; and if the assistance of her brother, the King of Spain could be procured, surely she, of all persons, had a decided and absolute right to it.

Let us now turn, for a few minutes, to the consideration of another lady who played an important part in the history of that eventful time.

Louise Angélique de La Fayette, belonging to one of the first families in France, was pushed at court by the influence of a cabal, who seeing Mademoiselle de Hautefort in disgrace, and feeling sure that Louis XIII. *must* be under the spell of some favourite, took the opportunity of advancing the interests of their relative and *protégée*. La Porte tells us in his memoirs that, "during that time a cabal was organized by the Bishop of Limoges (uncle of Mademoiselle de La Fayette), M. de Saint Simon, Madame de Sénecé, and Mesdemoiselles d'Esches, de Vieux-Pont, and de Polignac, with the view of introducing Mademoiselle de La Fayette to court instead of Mademoiselle de Hautefort. His eminence entered so thoroughly into this plan that in a short time the king no longer spoke to Mademoiselle de Hautefort, whereas his great diversion, when in the queen's apartments, was to entertain Mademoiselle de La Fayette, and make her sing.*

The new favourite was of a disposition totally different from that of her predecessor, and although she was not more attractive, she was more tender, more gentle. Louis XIII., in the first instance, honoured her with his attentions chiefly to annoy Mademoiselle de Hautefort; but gradually he was completely fascinated, and ended by loving her seriously. Mademoiselle de La Fayette, in her turn, could not but be flattered with the notice of Louis XIII.; then when he opened his heart to

* *Mémoires*, edit. Petitot, lix. p. 332.

her, and revealed his sadness, his melancholy, his suspicions, his distrust of everybody—when she saw the most powerful monarch in Europe more wretched than the least of his subjects (§)—she could not help showing to him all the proofs of affectionate compassion; she mitigated his pains by expressing her readiness to share them. Finding himself on terms of deep friendship for the first time in his life with a lady of unblemished character and of a superior mind, the king manifested all his real qualities, his unflinching honesty, his talents, his spirit, the uprightness of his intentions, and he enjoyed at last the sweetness of mutual affection. There is no doubt that Mademoiselle de La Fayette loved Louis XIII.; Madame de Motteville, who was her intimate friend, positively says so; but the sentiment she entertained for him was that of a sister, pure, disinterested, and springing from the highest motives. She did her very best to persuade him that his sincere reconciliation with the queen was a matter of conscience, and that he ought to shake off the heavy yoke laid upon him by Richelieu. It is curious to see two young girls thus openly setting at defiance a man such as the all-powerful cardinal. In vain he tried to win over Mademoiselle de La Fayette to his interests. He was unsuccessful here again, and thus baffled, he had recourse to his accustomed stratagems; he inspired scruples into the mind both of the lady and of the monarch, and so far destroyed their intimacy that Mademoi-

selle de La Fayette, who had often thought of taking the veil, retired definitively to the convent of the ladies of Saint Mary, in the Faubourg Saint Antoine. M. Victor Cousin, from whom we have borrowed most of the above details, calls her a Mademoiselle de La Vallière *qui n'a pas failli.** She is certainly one of the most attractive characters in an age when there was both so much to admire and so much to condemn.

About the time of Mademoiselle de La Fayette's retirement from the world, a bundle of letters intercepted by the cardinal revealed to him all the queen's secrets. A search was made in her apartments, her papers were seized, and she obtained her pardon only by giving a written promise to desist from corresponding with her two brothers Philip IV., King of Spain, and the Cardinal Infante. As war was at this time being carried on between France and Spain, and as the medium through whose connivance the correspondence passed was that arch-intriguer, Madame de Chevreuse, both the king and the cardinal might well feel anxious.

The last representative of feudal pretentions, the Duke d'Épernon, was also compelled to see that the time had come for the nobility to give up the ambitious views they had so long and so pertinaciously entertained; the fate of the Duke de la Valette, condemned to death for a military blunder, showed that nothing but absolute and

* *Madame de Hautefort*, p. 26.

unconditional obedience would satisfy Richelieu; and yet another attempt was made to break the yoke, the offender in this case being the Count de Soissons, head of one of the branches of the Condé family.

The conspiracy at the head of which the Count de Soissons placed himself was the most important, by far, of all those organized against the cardinal. As a prince of the blood, he was of a much higher standing than Montmorency himself: possessing all the courage, the spirit and the military talents of that nobleman, he had, besides, greater forethought and superior skill in the carrying out of his plans. The conspiracy had been thoroughly matured, and the fittest opportunity selected. There is no doubt that Richelieu, towards the end of his administration, ruled by terror.* It seemed as if the war was never to end, and as if the taxation which weighed down upon the country and destroyed its resources, was always to be increased; no one was safe, and the vengeance of the jealous minister contrived to reach the most unsuspecting. His genius had not lost its *prestige*, and the greatness of his plans called forth the admiration of a small number of appreciative spirits; but everybody else, that is the majority, had become heartily weary, and the king especially. Cinq-Mars, the recently appointed master of the horse, was assiduously doing his best to ruin and blacken the cardinal in the mind of the king; he

* Victor Cousin, *Madame de Chevreuse*, pp. 96-99.

was aware of the conspiracy we are now alluding to, and, without having actually joined it, he gave to it all his support. The queen, Anne of Austria, still in disgrace, sighed for the end of a power which had crushed her so ruthlessly; there was Monsieur, too, not very trustworthy, to be sure, and quite capable of drawing back when the fatal moment came; but the Duke de Bouillon, distinguished both as a warrior and a politician, had openly declared against the cardinal, and his stronghold, Sédan, situated on the frontier between France and the Netherlands, was a refuge where a long stand could be made against Richelieu's forces. There existed conspirators even within the walls of the Bastille, and Marshal Vitry and the Count de Cramail were preparing a manifestation with an amount of secrecy which was perfectly amazing. The Abbé de Retz, only twenty-five years old, had also made up his mind to join in the fray and to make his *début* as a conspirator. The Duke de Guise, who had managed to find a refuge in the Netherlands, had promised to join the other leaders at Sédan. Nothing more was wanted but the assistance of Spain; nothing, let us add, could be done without it. The Spaniards alone could by a diversion facilitate a march of the rebels upon Paris, and crush the power of Richelieu. Soissons, accordingly, despatched to Brussels one of his most intelligent and trusty friends, Alexander de Campion, with the view of negociating for a supply both of money and of troops. There he met the

Duchess de Chevreuse who, ready as usual, and more than ready to join in any intrigue against the cardinal, promised her active support, and as a matter of fact, did all she could to help on the conspiracy. She gave to Campion, and also to another obscure intriguer, the Abbé de Merci, letters for Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, in which she urged him not to lose this opportunity of repairing by one effort his past misfortunes, and of striking a deadly blow at Richelieu. Thus encouraged by the Duchess de Chevreuse, by the Duke de Guise, and by the Spanish minister, Charles IV. broke the alliance which he had just made with France, treated with Spain, and made haste to relieve Sédan. General Lamboy and Colonel Metternic started from Flanders at the head of six thousand men. France and the whole of Europe were in a great state of expectation; Richelieu had never been in such danger; the Count de Soissons had taken refuge at Sédan, near the Duke de Bouillon, and from that city he made an appeal to all the malcontents. At the news of this fresh outbreak, the King of France required the Duke de Bouillon to get rid of his guest. Instead of complying with this order, Bouillon refused, and raised an army, where seven thousand foreign soldiers reinforced a powerful contingent of refugees and disaffected Frenchmen. Marshal Châtillon, sent with a few thousand men to observe Sédan and protect the frontier, was not in a position to offer battle to the enemy, whose numbers were

considerably superior. Attacked by the rebels near the wood of La Marfée (July 6, 1641), he was defeated owing to the cowardice of some of his regiments; but the Count de Soissons was killed whilst rushing in pursuit of the fugitives, and the insurrection, thus deprived of its leader, could not derive any benefit from the success it had obtained. The Duke de Bouillon was too happy to purchase his own life at the cost of Sédan, which he surrendered to Louis XIII.

In the meanwhile the king had almost forgotten Mademoiselle de La Fayette and Mademoiselle de Hautefort; his inclination towards the latter, however, revived, and Richelieu, who had always dreaded her influence, asked the king to send her away for a fortnight. She insisted on receiving the order from the monarch's own lips; and when it was given, she merely answered, "This fortnight will be life-long for me, and I now take leave of your majesty never to see you again." She was very much regretted by Anne of Austria; as for Louis XIII. he was already taken up with a new favourite, the brilliant and witty Cinq-Mars, whom Richelieu himself had introduced at court for the purpose of amusing the wretched monarch, and acting at the same time as a kind of spy. Made master of the wardrobe and grand equerry of France at the early age of nineteen, Cinq-Mars thought that he might rise to the destinies of De Luynes, and his ambition led to ingratitude, as had been the case with De Luynes. He aimed at obtaining a seat at the

council-board, and having met with a refusal from Richelieu, whose creature he was, he complained to the king. Louis XIII. was beginning to get weary of a state of dependence which had lasted fifteen years; without positively countenancing the *grand-écuyer's* plans of sedition, he listened to them, and allowed his favourite to join with all the disaffected, the queen, the Duke d'Orléans, the Duke de Bouillon; allusions were frequently made to Concini and to the bold stroke which had delivered both the crown and the country from the ambitious Italian adventurer. The conspirators had in the first instance thought of murdering Richelieu, but they gave up the idea, and determined upon making a secret agreement with Spain. The Marquis de Fontrailles, who had joined in the plot, had gone to Madrid, seen the Count-duke d'Olivarès, and brought back with him a formal treaty which awaited nothing but the signature of the Duke d'Orléans. The court was openly divided between the partisans of the king and those of Richelieu; whilst the giddy, incapable, careless friends of Cinq-Mars affected the epithet of *royalists*, all the most efficient men in the army, those who had most at heart the honour and glory of France, Turenne and Condé amongst them, accepted the designation of *cardinalists*. Richelieu, we need not say, had been informed of all the details of the conspiracy; he knew that Cinq-Mars had made sure of a retreat at Sédan, and entered upon a negotiation with the Duke de Bouillon; the secret

treaty with Spain was also a circumstance he was fully aware of, although he did not as yet possess any conclusive evidence on the subject. His first care was to keep the king's attention amused by military display and strategical evolutions; feeling where the danger lay, he recalled Guébriant from Alsace, D'Harcourt from Champagne, in order to concentrate all the operations of the war in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. La Meilleraye had carried Collioure by storm, Perpignan was blockaded, the king returned to the camp, accompanied by his favourite, Cinq-Mars, who might have known that the whole plot was no longer a secret, and that the terrible Richelieu was only waiting for the decisive proofs which would enable him to strike more effectively. His friend and fellow-conspirator had told him so as plainly as possible, and the wonder is that a man of De Thou's character, a magistrate himself, and the son of a magistrate, should not have given to Cinq-Mars both the advice and the example of withdrawing from the plot. But in spite of his intelligence and of his high character for integrity, De Thou had not been able to resist the temptation of joining in a plot where he had for his associates some of the highest personages in the kingdom. Ambition, too, had a great deal to do with his rash enterprise; he felt capable of taking a part in public affairs, and saw that Richelieu would be a perpetual obstacle in his way; finally, he had conceived for Anne of Austria a kind of romantic attachment

which completely blinded him. The two friends were still hoping to obtain from the king a declaration or edict containing Richelieu's downfall, for he had certainly seemed to endorse their schemes, or at any rate not to oppose them; and Louis XIII. had even gone so far as not to discourage the *grand écuyer* from making in his name secret propositions of peace both at Rome and at Madrid. They might have known, however, from past experience, that no trust could be placed upon the promises of Louis XIII., and that in his sickly state of health the dispositions of the day would most likely make room for the caprices of the morrow. The cardinal, broken down by illness, remained at Narbonne, waiting anxiously for the result of the inquiries made by his agents, and the king, sincerely perhaps, gave him *reiterated* assurances of his friendship and support. The fact is that when Louis XIII. was left alone with the worthless courtiers who endeavoured to excite him against Richelieu, he could not help feeling that incapacity was their prominent characteristic, and that the destinies of France, if abandoned to them, would soon have been ruined for ever.

At last Richelieu's patience was rewarded; some one placed within his hand a copy of the famous treaty with Spain. Cinq-Mars, by the most extraordinary delusion bound himself towards the court of Madrid, consented to receive its troops and its subsidies during the war; the conspirators would have no enemies but those of the Empire,

and pledged themselves to restore all the provinces conquered in former times. Chavigny, the devoted friend of Richelieu, was directed to place before Louis XIII. this terrible document; the king, with all his hesitation and his want of energy, possessed at any rate the great quality of patriotism, and on this occasion he at once sacrificed to the good of the country his favourite Cinq-Mars. On the 10th of June, 1642, he left the camp and returned to join the cardinal at Narbonne; on the 12th, the order was given to arrest Cinq-Mars and De Thou; the Duke de Bouillon was seized in the middle of his army and imprisoned at Casale; the Duke d'Orléans at Blois. After having thus shown to Richelieu that he completely identified himself with his policy, Louis XIII. started for Paris.

Gaston, as usual, obtained his pardon by his cowardice; he hastened to supply the cardinal with the legal written evidence which was still wanting against the two principal conspirators; Richelieu embarked on the Rhone on the 17th of August, taking in tow a barge conveying his victims Cinq-Mars and De Thou. The trial took place at Lyons before a commission the members of which partly belonged to the parliament of Grenoble; the president was Pierre Séguier, and the reporter Laubardemont, the well-known agent of Richelieu's revenge. Whilst questioning Cinq-Mars he said to him that De Thou had confessed everything, and had even incriminated him in the strongest manner,

by using exactly the same method in examining De Thou, he obtained the success he desired; it was an act of twofold perfidy unworthy of a magistrate and of a gentleman; but such matters were thought nothing of at the time. The prisoners were sentenced to death on the 12th of September, and beheaded immediately. "The king, who was then at Saint Germain, knowing both the day and the hour of the execution, kept looking at his watch and saying: 'in such and such a period of time, *M. le Grand* will spend *his* time very unpleasantly.'"* That was the only expression of regret which he gave to his friend.

The terrible tragedy we have been relating was the last blow struck at the French nobility, and the last important act in Richelieu's life. The ambitious nobles had learnt at their own cost that the days of feudalism were gone for ever, and that every effort to destroy the kingdom was doomed almost before it was attempted.

Fiction has done much for the son of Marshal d'Effiat,† but he was really a very worthless character. Having succeeded through Richelieu's influence in becoming the favourite of a king whom he never cared for, but whose kindness he for a long time turned to his own profit, he gave himself up to all the excesses of luxury and of pleasure. Prosperity turned his head; he endeavoured, first

* Montglat, *Mémoires.*

† See Alfred de Vigny's novel, *Cinq-Mars, ou une conspiration sous Louis XIII.*

of all, to struggle with his protector, and then to take his place at the helm of the State. Although just twenty years old, and qualified merely for the easy duties of a page, he thought himself able to govern France, and his first step was to call in the Spaniards. The treason was discovered, as we have just seen, the disgraceful compact signed by Frenchmen with a foreign power was handed over to Richelieu, and no doubt remained then as to the fate which awaited Cinq-Mars.(§)

Whilst we quite approve of the judgment passed upon the rash favourite and his accomplice De Thou, we cannot help declaring here that the form of the trial was disgracefully illegal, and that in dealing with the prisoners, as previously, in the case of Montmorency, Richelieu acted exactly as if he was not prosecuting a state criminal, but satisfying the feelings of private revenge. A parallel naturally suggests itself between the two cases we are now alluding to, and the trial of Biron during the preceding reign. Henry IV. ordered the arrest of his old friend, but interfered no further in the matter, and allowed the court free action. The Paris parliament, the only assembly qualified to try the culprit, was convened; the peers of France joined in the deliberations, and Biron was unanimously sentenced to death by one hundred and twenty-seven votes. Richelieu once in power, the whole course of things is changed. His ideas of justice were those of a revolutionist, and the trials of

Montmorency and Cinq-Mars were a kind of anticipation of 1793. Montmorency had been taken, arms in hand, his rebellion was patent, and deserved to be punished; but every one thought that he would certainly be sent to Paris, and tried by the parliament and the peers assembled. This was one of the fundamental laws of the old monarchy, and for nearly six hundred years, only four persons could be named who had been summoned before exceptional courts. Richelieu, however, ordered that Montmorency should be tried at Toulouse, and although the parliament of that town refused to sit in the Marshal's case, they were obliged to yield, and the court was presided over by one of Richelieu's own creatures, the keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf.

It was exactly the same in the case of Cinq-Mars. Instead of being summoned before the Parliament of Paris, according to the terms of the law, he was obliged to undergo the judgment of a special court called together at Lyons, and consisting of creatures of the cardinal. In vain did he try to appeal against such a measure as illegal (and it really was so), he was compelled to give way. These terrible measures produced the result which might naturally be expected; the cardinal was considered guilty of wholesale murder, and persons could not help being struck by the promptness with which certain prisoners died shortly after their being sent to prison:—D'Ornano (1624), the Grand Prieur de

Vendôme (1626), Marillac (1632), Puylaurens (1634), all within a year of their incarceration, and three of them at Vincennes. Richelieu has enough to answer for without being responsible for crimes which he never committed.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Richelieu's foreign policy is one of the most noteworthy subjects we have to consider in our biographical sketch of the great French statesman; we must examine it somewhat in detail.

The measures he had taken against the aristocracy were just, no doubt, but still there was about them a kind of relentless severity which might sometimes seem positively brutal. In order to soften the unfavourable impression they were likely to produce, he felt himself bound to adopt a system of foreign policy which would conciliate public opinion by its patriotic character and by the evident desire it showed of restoring France to its proper position amongst the nations of Europe. There was besides the absolute necessity of giving occupation to a number of restless and daring men who, prevented by their social position from carrying on trade or business of any kind, must find on the fields of battle against the enemies of their country a scope for that energy

which they no longer dared to employ in fomenting intrigues at home or in fighting duels at the "Place Royale." An opportunity was not long wanting, or rather it existed since the death of Henry IV. The destruction of Spanish influence had been the Bearnese's policy; he saw France hemmed in on all sides by the troops of Ultramontanism, and if the dagger of Ravaillac had not prematurely struck him down he would no doubt have crushed for ever the joint efforts of the Vatican and the Escurial. This task was reserved for Richelieu; "the limits of France," said the cardinal, "must be those of Gaul." On his accession to power he renewed all the treaties made by Henry IV. with Venice, Savoy, Holland, and England; he broke the projected marriage of the Prince of Wales (Charles I.) with a Spanish infanta, and proposed to the young prince the hand of Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII. That was a first challenge thrown down to Spain; the war of the Valteline, which occurred almost simultaneously (1624), was a second. This small district, forming a communication between the Spanish Milanese and the Austrian Tyrol, had for its inhabitants a population, Catholic indeed, but subject to the Protestant Grisons, and which had revolted against Spain on account of the erection of certain fortresses constructed by the government of Madrid for the ostensible purpose of keeping off the heretics (1620).

The rich valley of the Valteline, watered by the

Adda, and extending from the Lake of Como to the Tyrol, had belonged for upwards of a century to the republic of the Grisons, to whom the dukes of Milan had ceded it at the time of the wars between France and Italy. By virtue of its geographical position, it was very naturally coveted by the two branches of the house of Austria, who only waited for a favourable opportunity of seizing it. The difference of religion which separated the Protestant Grisons from the Catholic Valtelines seemed to hasten this catastrophe; in 1620, the latter, headed by a nobleman of the name of Giacomo Robustelli, revolted, and called in the Spanish general, Gomez de Figueroa, Duke of Feria, to their assistance. "During the same year, the emperor, with the help of Spaniards, had gained the famous battle of Prague, which gave a wonderful turn to his affairs, whilst it ruined those of the Palatine and of the other Protestant princes his allies. At that time the Duke of Feria was governor of the Milanese, an ambitious and vain man, anxious at any price to create a confusion (*brouiller les cartes*), and have himself talked about. He saw that he could do so without much obstacle, since the Grisons gave him some pretext to invade the Valteline, the possession of which was of first-rate importance to the king of Spain, both for the preservation of his domains in Italy, and also for the weakening of the other potentates in that country. He considered that the Protestants were chastised, the King of France occupied by his civil wars, and the King

of England engaged in the hope of marrying the prince his son with the Infanta of Spain.* He therefore attempted and accomplished the conquest of the Valteline in the manner and with the success which every one knows. The Italian princes became alarmed, the Swiss were offended, and the king (Louis XIII.) their ally determined upon procuring the restitution and restoration of that province to the Grisons its lawful masters; and with that view he despatched me as ambassador extraordinary for the purpose of asking it back again from the King of Spain, his father-in-law." †

As a compensation for his assistance, the Duke de Feria obtained the surrender of all the fortified places in the valley; Madrid and Vienna thus were able, so to say, to join hands across the Alps, and France lost the only road it had to enter Italy. The Duke of Savoy and the republic of Venice, still more threatened by this bold and disloyal stroke of the Austrian policy than France itself, sent in their complaints to Paris, and as we have just seen, Marshal Bassompierre was ordered to go to Madrid and remonstrate with the Spanish government. Philip II. gave to Louis XIII. nothing but a deceptive satisfaction, and the Duke of Feria not only refused to abandon his conquest, but strengthened himself in it by fresh usurpations.

* The Infanta Maria-Anna, second daughter of Philip III. and of Margaret of Austria. She married (1631) Ferdinand of Austria, who afterwards became the emperor Ferdinand III.

† Bassompierre, *Mémoires*, ii. 242, 243.

Such was the state of things in December, 1622, when Louis XIII. met at Lyons his brother-in-law, the Prince of Piedmont, and the Venetian ambassador who had come to plead before him the cause of Italy. Richelieu gave to the king, through the medium of Mary de' Medici, the advice which a sound and firm system of policy suggested; without actually declaring war against Spain, he would have made it quite clear that such an eventuality was highly probable. His suggestions were unfortunately not adopted, and when Louis XIII. returned to Paris, nothing had been decided. An arrangement, however, was subsequently agreed upon, by virtue of which the positions in the Valteline were to be given up as a trust to the Pope till the difference was completely and satisfactorily settled. The Spaniards, let us add, never entirely abandoned their conquests, and the Austrians would not relinquish the places they had taken from the Grisons. The court of the Vatican would have probably decided in favour of the cabinet of Madrid, if Richelieu, just arrived at the head of affairs, had not interfered at once. He wrote to the French ambassador at Rome: "The king does not mean to be trifled with any longer; the cabinet is changed, and the new ministry has adopted a different system. An army shall be sent into the Valteline to stop the hesitation of the Pope and bring the Spaniards to their senses." Shortly after, the Marquis de Cœuvres entered Switzerland at the head of an army of ten thousand men, and

restored the Valteline to the Grisons (1624). The court of Madrid showed its weakness by putting up with the insult, and signing the peace of Monçon, which was merely the ratification of accomplished facts.

Another important event proved a few years later that the boasted power of Spain had come to an end, and that the time was no more when a sign from the Escurial struck terror from one end of Europe to the other. Charles de Gonzague, Duke de Nevers, a French prince, had inherited the Duchy of Mantua and the Marquisate of Montferrat at the time when Richelieu was besieging La Rochelle; the Spaniards, anxious to secure a footing in Italy, opposed to him as rival claimants the Duke of Guastalla at Mantua, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, in the Montferrat; they even laid siege to Casale. Charles de Gonzague asked for the assistance of Louis XIII. as being a French subject; and both the king and Richelieu marched in person towards the Alps at the head of an army of thirty thousand men.

Marshal Bassompierre has related all this episode in so picturesque and amusing a style that the best thing we can do is to give here a translation of his narrative.

"The king having appointed his brother to the duty of relieving the besieged city of Casale, soon imagined that the glory acquired by Monsieur would be to the detriment of his own (so great is the power of jealousy between relations), and he

took it so much to heart that he could not rest in consequence. On the 8th of January (1629) he came to Chaillot where I happened to be, having business with the cardinal, who resided there at the time. He immediately closeted himself with Monseigneur, and began by telling him that he could not bear to see his brother commanding his army on the other side of the Alps; that business must be stopped, said he. The cardinal answered that the only way of stopping it was that his Majesty should take the command himself; if he made up his mind to do so, he must start within a week at the latest. The king assented immediately, turning round at the same time he called me; I was standing at the other end of the room; I approached and he said to me, 'and here is some one who will come with me and serve me faithfully.' Having asked where his Majesty expected me to go, he answered, 'To Italy, where I mean to drive the enemy from before Casale, and you will serve me faithfully. So get ready to start and act as my lieutenant-general under my brother (if he chooses to join us); I shall take with you Marshal Créquy who knows the country, and I trust that we shall give a good account of ourselves.' Hereupon the king returned to Paris, and informed the queen of his resolutions; she told it in her turn to Monsieur who was not much pleased with it. He did not, however, show any sign of dissatisfaction, but prepared to go. The king had the first start, and appointed our rendezvous at Grenoble.

"The day before his departure, he knew that I had not much money to spare; he asked me for some cider which he wanted to take with him; I used to give him an excellent brew, which some of my Normandy friends sent me, knowing that I am rather fond of it. I forwarded to him twelve bottles, and in the course of the evening, as I was taking the watchword from him, he said to me: 'Betstein, you have given me twelve bottles of cider; I present you with twelve thousand crowns in return. Go to D'Effiat, he will deliver them over to you.' 'Sire,' I answered, 'I have the whole cask of cider at home, and I can let you have it at the same price.' But he was satisfied with the twelve bottles and with his liberality.

". . . On Tuesday, March 6th, the king arrived at Chaumont about two o'clock in the morning with the Counts de Soissons, de Longueville, and de Moret, Marshals Schomberg, d'Halluin, de La Valette and others; our troops passed on, namely, seven companies of the guards, six of the Swiss, nineteen of the regiment of Navarre, fourteen of that of Estissac, fifteen of that of Saut, besides the king's mounted musketeers.

". . . About six o'clock in the morning, M. De Créquy and I, assisted by M. de La Valette, Valençay, Toiras, Canaples, and Tavannes, got our troops into order. The king arrived at the same time with the count and the cardinal; he insisted that his musketeers should do duty with the forlorn hope of the guards." The pass of Susa,

through which the French army had to make way, was protected by three barricades. We must quote Bassompierre's interesting account of his interview with the king immediately before the attack. "'Sire, sire,' said I, 'the company is ready, the violins have arrived, and the masqueraders are at the door; when your majesty pleases, we shall proceed with the ballet.' The king drew near to me, and exclaimed in a passion, 'Do you know that we have only five pounds weight of lead in the artillery park?' I said to him, 'It is fine time, indeed, to think of all this. Must the ballet not come off because one of the masqueraders is not ready? Leave it to us, sire, and all will go on capitally.' 'Do you answer for it?' said he to me. 'It would be rash in me,' replied I, 'to pledge myself to so doubtful a thing; but yet I affirm that we shall get out of it creditably, or I shall be either killed or a prisoner.' 'Yes; but if we fail I shall reproach you for it.' '. . . Only let us act.' Then the cardinal said to him, 'Sire, the appearance of the marshal makes me anticipate a good result, depend upon it.'"* Louis XIII. on this occasion displayed his father's courage; the Duke of Savoy witnessing the impetuosity of the assailants, and on the point of being taken prisoner, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, let me pass through; for these fellows seem rather cross." He hastened to sign the treaty of Susa; the Spaniards, on their side, raised the siege of Casale, and retired into the

* *Mémoires*, iv. 1–11.

Milanese. The Duke of Savoy could not be relied upon; the cardinal said of him that "his mind took no rest, but went round the world every day more than three times, thinking of setting all the kings at war against one another in order to profit by their divisions." The year had not elapsed when the Imperial forces, victorious in Germany, invaded the territory of the Grisons, the Spaniards entered the marquisate of Montferrat, and the Duke of Savoy negotiated with everybody. Richelieu returned towards the Alps, followed by 40,000 men; Savoy was conquered, and Pignerol taken (March, 1630). The peace of Cherasco concluded by Cardinal Mazarin, strengthened the French influence in Italy; the Duke of Mantua was re-established in his dominions; and, by a clever stratagem, the important position of Pignerol remained in the hands of the French, thus securing to them a free passage across the Alps.

Had not Richelieu's attention been elsewhere engaged, he would have organized an Italian confederation, for the purpose of counteracting and destroying the Spanish influence. Venice, Mantua and the Duke of Savoy signed the treaty which formed the basis of that league; the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Genoa and the Prince of Parma and Modena adhered to it in secret; Pope Urban VIII. was on the point of following their example. The events which were taking place in Germany, however, put a stop to that scheme, as it did to many others.

The Thirty Years' War, both political and religious in its character, had been raging since 1618. After having begun in Bohemia, it had spread through the German Empire, and did not seem to approach a termination. The Elector Palatine, the King of Denmark, had been in turns conquered and humbled. The Imperial army, commanded by Wallenstein, had penetrated as far as the Baltic, trampling under its feet the freedom of Germany. The problem already so often discussed was arising again, namely, whether the despotism of the house of Austria would be allowed to go on, or whether it should give way to the political system of a number of small independent princes.

Never since the death of Henry IV. had France been in so favourable a state to make its power felt abroad; but never, on the other hand, did circumstances more urgently require that action. The emperor Ferdinand II., finding no more enemies in Germany, had just sent over into Italy an army to support the Spanish rule; if he had been willing to follow the advice of his generalissimo, whom some historians have very appropriately called the last of the condottieri, he could have stamped out Lutheranism in the whole of northern Europe. He preferred propping up in the Italian peninsula the power of the Escurial. Richelieu's policy was both to destroy the Imperial *prestige* on the banks of the Rhine, and to annihilate the authority of the Spaniards in Italy. But whilst it was by the force of arms that he interfered

on the other side of the Alps, he preferred having recourse to negotiation, in the first instance, at any rate, with the German princes. Baron de Charnacé, one of the ablest of French diplomatists, had been sent to Munich for the purpose of tempting the ambition of the Duke of Bavaria. Henry IV. had already offered to that prince the transfer of the imperial sceptre into his family. Chief of the catholic union, Maximilian, like the other German potentates, smarted under Wallenstein's oppression; but he was still held in his duty by the bribe of Church property, the restitution of which was enforced from the Lutherans by Ferdinand II. Charnacé's mission in Bavaria, then, was attended with little success; he was far happier in his application to the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. "This prince," says Richelieu, "was a new rising sun; having engaged in war with all his neighbours, he had conquered from them several provinces; he was young, but enjoyed the greatest reputation; he had enlarged his dominions by many provinces wrested from the Moscovites, the Poles and the Danes; . . . and he already showed himself ill-disposed towards the emperor." In good sooth, it did not require much persuasion to urge Gustavus Adolphus to a war against Ferdinand, who had treated the Swedish ambassador with marked disrespect, and was endeavouring to dethrone the king himself. Charnacé was not long in discovering that Gustavus Adolphus, that young warrior of thirty, was the predestined

restorer of German freedom. A fervent Lutheran, he had inspired his army with his own religious enthusiasm, besides subjecting it to the strictest discipline and a most complete reorganization. Cardinal Richelieu gave to Charnacé the fullest power to negotiate with the King of Sweden, and the first care of the French diplomatist was to stop, by a six years' truce, the war which the King of Poland, Sigismond, Catholic pretender to the throne of Sweden, was carrying on with the Lutheran monarch (September 15, 1609). This transaction may be considered as merely the prelude of a treaty, the terms of which were settled six months later. By virtue of this new arrangement, Gustavus Adolphus, now in the pay of France, pledged himself to wage war against the emperor. In consideration of a subsidy of 1,200,000 livres, the King of Sweden agreed to maintain an army of thirty thousand men. He bound himself further, to preserve a strict neutrality towards all the princes of a Catholic league, on condition that they should not join the emperor against Sweden; he would likewise respect the rights and privileges of the Romish Church, wherever he found them established. By these stipulations, the Catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the score of religion, but furnished with a pretext for withholding their assistance from the emperor, as a step which would expose them to the arms of Sweden.

Richelieu kept secret as long as he could a negotiation which, if known, would have completely

taken by surprise both Protestants and Catholics; he felt, however, that by throwing all his influence on the side of the Lutheran cause, he was merely following the views of Henry IV., and checking the ambition of the house of Austria. If the emperor made use of the cloak of religion to conceal a policy of despotism and plunder, was it not the bounden duty of the minister of the most Christian king to interfere, even if by so doing he should seem to favour heresy? In the meanwhile, the cardinal's faithful adviser and agent, Father Joseph, contrived so well with the electors at the diet of Ratisbon (1630) that he obtained the dismissal of Wallenstein and the disbanding of his army. The electors then refused to bestow the title of King of the Romans upon the Emperor Ferdinand II., who had seriously regarded this as the reward of his concessions. "Father Joseph," exclaimed he in a passion, "has contrived to hide six electoral caps in his monk's cowl!"

Gustavus Adolphus appeared with all the rapidity of lightning. He invented a new system of tactics, which threw his enemies off their guard and thoroughly disconcerted them. He defeated the celebrated Tilly near Leipzig, and again on the banks of the Lech (April 10, 1632). The imperialist general was mortally wounded and the King of Sweden, entering Augsburg, proclaimed their religious liberty. A few months after he himself fell at Lutzen, in the arms of victory. "Let others conquer the world!" said he, as he expired.

This fatal event, of course, gave fresh energy to the Emperor Ferdinand II., and it brought France more directly into the arena. Richelieu knew this perfectly well, and he endeavoured to postpone as much as he could the time when Louis XIII. must interfere decisively. His diplomatic activity was never so busy or conducted with so much skill. He discovered that the death of Gustavus Adolphus did not necessarily imply the humiliation of Sweden; and he renewed immediately the treaties which he had concluded with that country. He did homage to the genius of the chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, equally distinguished as a soldier and a statesman, and contrived to place him at the head of the Heilbron Protestant union, despite the efforts of the Elector of Saxony. He did not meet with so much success in his endeavours to detach the Catholic union from the cause of the emperor; but he thwarted the negotiations which had been begun between Spain and the Netherlands. Baron de Charnacé persuaded the dukes to maintain their old relations with France, whilst another distinguished diplomatist, Baron de Feuquières, acted in Germany as Richelieu's *fondé de pouvoirs*.

Whilst all these negotiations were taking place, the conflicting parties still met on the battle-field; the victory of Lutzen had given a new impetus to the enthusiasm of the Swedes, and, under the leadership of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, they advanced into Bavaria as far as Ratisbon and Passau. Wallenstein's calculated inaction favoured

them; deeply wounded in his pride by the Emperor Ferdinand, the ambitious general was already meditating the treachery which, according to his views, must bring about the ruin of his master, and which, as a matter of fact, ended in a sentence of proscription uttered against himself, and carried out by three murderers (February 15, 1634). Fortune then seemed to smile upon the imperial cause; the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, having been imprudent enough to attack with twenty-five thousand men an army of forty thousand strongly entrenched at Nordlingen, was signally defeated (September 6th). Such was the alarm amongst the German Protestants at this sudden change in the course of events, that all eyes immediately turned towards France as the quarter from which alone help could be expected. No further hesitation was possible for Cardinal Richelieu. On the 1st of November he gave an audience to two envoys, the one from Sweden and the other from Germany, and signed with them an agreement, according to the terms of which France, instead of an annual subsidy of one million livres, pledged itself to send to the union of Heilbron a contingent of twelve thousand men, provided it was allowed to assume the chief control over the operations of the war. Shortly afterwards, another treaty was concluded in Paris (February 8, 1635) between France and the United Provinces, for the immediate invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. Each of the contracting parties was to raise a force of thirty

thousand men, for the accomplishment of that great enterprise. The cardinal wanted also to induce the Duke of Savoy to join him in his scheme of aggression against the house of Austria, but he found so much hesitation on the side of Victor Amadeus and of the other Italian princes, that he was obliged to give up for the time that part of his scheme; eventual arrangements were made, however, for the conquest and partition of the Milanese.

It remained now to find a plausible motive for the declaration of war; as a matter of fact hostilities had already begun. As early as December 23, Marshals de la Force and De Brézé had raised the siege of Heidelberg; on his side Count Gallas had seized upon Philipsburg, which the Swedes had placed as a deposit in the power of the French (January 24, 1635); and the French, less than two months later, retaliated by taking possession of Spire. Finally, the Duke de Rohan, one of the most illustrious captains of the age, had appeared in Lorraine for the purpose of defending the north-east frontier of France against the Imperialists. A small pamphlet entitled, *Des intérêts des princes et états de la Chrestienté*, had previously stated his views on the subject; it was an apology of Richelieu's foreign policy, and a declaration that the humbling of Spain would be the glory of the reign of Louis XIII. We must not forget that whilst all these important events were taking place, the cardinal was busy destroying the political power of the Huguenots at home. Being taunted for

this inconsistency, he thus explained himself, "It is, I own with great sorrow, very much to be regretted by the Christian commonwealth that Protestants alone dare oppose themselves to the pernicious designs of the house of Austria; we must not help them in their enterprises against religion, but we must make use of them to maintain Germany in the enjoyment of its freedom."

The state of the French finances was, most providentially, satisfactory enough to carry on what must of all necessity be a costly and long war. Four armies had to be raised and supplied with every convenience. Luckily, Marshal d' Effiat, whom Richelieu had trusted with the management of the exchequer, was fully equal to his duties, and, so far, all was safe. Of the various commanders appointed to lead the troops, we have already named Rohan, Brézé, and La Force; Châtillon and Feuquières must not be forgotten: of all these Rohan was decidedly the best and the most to be depended upon.

The campaign of 1635 began favourably for France. On the 20th of May, Marshals de Châtillon and de Brézé defeated, at Avein in Flanders, Prince Thomas of Saxony, the brother of the reigning duke, who had quarrelled with him, and whom Spain had just taken into her service. Several other successes had also been obtained by the French troops on the Ticino, in Burgundy, Alsace, and Guyenne. Unfortunately, these advantages were compromised by the bold march of Piccolomini,

who, after making a junction with another of the emperor's best generals, John van Weert, invaded Picardy (July, 1636), took by storm La Capelle and Le Câtelet, and laid siege to Corbie, a small town situated at about twelve miles from Amiens.

These untoward events created in Paris a kind of panic; terror-stricken *bourgeois* already thought that the troops of Ferdinand II. were at the gates of the capital; the roads to Orléans and Chartres were covered with people flying for safety from a city which they imagined was doomed to destruction; and Richelieu was chiefly held responsible by the population for all these calamities. As he had caused part of the fortifications of Paris to be pulled down for the purpose of extending the limits of the metropolis, he was immediately charged with the intention of wishing to deliver it over to the enemy. "Why did he begin the war, if he had not the means of carrying it on? We are paying the penalty of his alliance with heretics." These accusations were a proof that Richelieu had thoroughly identified his fortunes with those of France, and that his most insignificant actions were construed both by his friends and his enemies as circumstances fraught with political importance.

One of the most amusing of French authors, Voiture, whom we have already quoted, and about whom we shall have more to say in another chapter, writing to a friend of his who was a decided *anti-Cardinalist*, thus expresses himself:—

"When it was known that the enemy had entered

Picardy, that all was on fire, to the very banks of the Oise, everybody took fright, and the chief city of the realm was in consternation. To heighten the distressing intelligence, news came from Burgundy to the effect that the siege of Dôle was raised; and from Saintonge, that fifteen thousand peasants had revolted; Poitou and Guienne, it was further added, would probably imitate this example. Unfavourable advices followed each other in quick succession, the sky was overcast in every direction, the storm assailed us on all sides, and from no quarter whatever could we descry a ray of good fortune. Amidst all this darkness did the cardinal see less clearly? Did he lose his head whilst the tempest was raging? Did he not still hold the helm in the one hand, whilst with the other he grasped the compass? Did he take to the boat for the sake of saving his life? On the contrary, did he not prove that he was ready to die before all the rest, if the great ship which he commanded was in danger of foundering? . . . It must be acknowledged that calamity so gallantly endured and such force of character is worth more than a great deal of prosperity and victory. He did not appear to me so great and so triumphant on the day when he entered La Rochelle as then; and the journey he made from his palace to the arsenal seems to me more glorious for him than that which he made beyond the mountains, and from which he returned with the triumphs of Pignerol and of Susa." *

* Voiture, *Lettre sur la prise de Corbie.*

We must not conceal the fact, at the same time, that the bitter reproaches he encountered on all sides, backed as they were by threats and riotous gatherings, seemed for a short season to cause him some anxiety. Let us quote on this subject the evidence of La Rochefoucauld, one of the most distinguished memoir writers of the seventeenth century.

"The second year of this war afforded to the enemies of Cardinal Richelieu many pretexts for finding fault with his conduct. The declaration of the war, and the plan which that great minister had so long entertained of humbling the house of Austria had been previously looked upon as a bold and dubious enterprise; but then it seemed to be rash and foolish. The Spaniards, people said, had taken La Capelle, Le Câtelet, and Corbie without meeting any resistance. The other frontier towns were neither better protected nor better fortified. The troops were weakly and badly disciplined. There was a deficiency both of gunpowder and of artillery. The enemies had entered into Picardy, and might march upon Paris. People were astonished that the cardinal should have compromised so inconsiderately the king's reputation and the safety of the state, and that his sole resource, in the second year of the war, was to call out the *arrière-ban*.* These rumours, spread throughout the kingdom, roused the cabals, and gave to the cardinal's enemies a motive for

* Reserves.

intriguing against his authority and even against his life." *

Two men then strengthened his courage and cheered him up amidst the presence of serious difficulties; the one was Mazarin, then papal nuncio at Paris, who afterwards was to continue, during the regency of Anne of Austria, the system of policy adopted by Richelieu; the other was the minister's confessor and friend, the Capuchin Father Joseph. "What!" said the latter, with his usual freedom of speech—"What! you wish to govern, and you do not know how to face peril! Do you prefer seeing them come here in order to send you to the gallows, and to hang us all with you? Now then, show yourself to the people. Go through the streets of Paris, if not on a mule, in a carriage; if you cannot in a carriage, let it be in a litter; but, anyhow, show yourself." Mazarin gave exactly the same advice, but in more measured terms. Richelieu recovered his courage; he caused himself to be driven to the Town Hall, alone, without guards, his horses walking very slowly. "Then could be seen what can be accomplished by great firmness, and how thoroughly it is revered, even by the basest souls; for the streets were so crowded with people that scarcely could one pass through them, and the mob was so animated that they talked of nothing but of putting him to death; yet, as soon as they saw him approach, they either held their peace or

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*, Hachette's edition, pp. 24, 25.

prayed to God that He would give him success during his voyage, so that he might remedy the evil." * When he had returned to his palace, Father Joseph said to him, "Did I not tell you that you were nothing but a milksop, and that with a little courage and firmness you would quiet the people and re-establish matters?"

Henceforth the defence of Paris was the all-engrossing topic. Following the cardinal's advice, Louis XIII. sent for the chiefs of all the trade-guilds, commanding them to meet him at the Louvre; he embraced them, and entrusted to them the protection of Paris. "The enlisting of workmen took place at the Town Hall; Marshal de la Force organized the infantry, and the Duke d'Angoulême, the cavalry. Rich people gave voluntary contributions; the Corporation of Haberdashers raised by itself a body of three hundred and fifty soldiers; the Paris cobblers, proud of the reception made by his Majesty to their delegates, clubbed together and sent to the treasury a gift of five thousand livres.† The Parliament, in its turn, was summoned to assemble at the Louvre. "Gentlemen," said the king, "I have sent for you; you know the state of affairs, you are aware that the enemy is on our frontier. My good city of Paris has just given me proofs of its fidelity; my Parliament, I venture to believe, will not be behindhand in the discharge of its duty. I want the promise of the money to pay two thousand infantry during two

* Fontenay-Mareuil, *Mémoires*. † Monglat, *Mémoires*.

months. As soon as the army is assembled, I shall join it in person." The Parliament voted the required grant; but as it expressed the intention of seeing that the money should be well employed, the king replied sharply, "Gentlemen, meddle with the things alone which concern you. I shall govern my kingdom without your interference."

As he had announced to the Parliament, Louis XIII. took the field at the head of an army of forty thousand men, and was fortunate enough to drive the enemy from stage to stage as far as the boundaries of the kingdom. Richelieu, on his side, besieged Corbie, and captured it in ten days (1636).

Bussy Rabutin's account deserves to be given here, as the evidence of an eye-witness:—

"At that time the affairs of the king went so badly in Picardy, that his Majesty sent several times a message to the Prince de Condé, ordering him to abandon the siege of Dôle, and to send him part of his forces. This prince, expecting great results from a mine which he had laid under one of the bastions of the citadel, kept putting off the raising of the siege. At last, the mine having exploded without producing sufficient effect to justify the storming of Dôle, Condé complied with the wishes of the king, and, on the 15th of August, retired with his army in the district of which he was governor. The Duke Charles of Lorraine followed us, at the head of two thousand horse, as far as the entrance of the woods which are on the high road to Auxonne. . . . From our camp to

these woods there is a small plain, about one league in length, extending between two hedges. The regiment of Navarre sent off one hundred musketeers towards the right, and my father despatched as many towards the left. These musketeers kept up firing upon the cavalry of the enemy, and then retired to the main body, being replaced by equal numbers. We thus steadily pushed on, and the enemy finally withdrew, having lost a few men and a considerable amount of horses killed or wounded.

"At that time the general officers did not seem so anxious to distinguish themselves as they have done since; there was not one of them present at this retreat.

"As soon as we had arrived in Burgundy, twelve regiments of our army were detached to join the army in Picardy. The enemies had made there extraordinary progress; they had taken possession of La Capelle, Le Câtelet, Corbie, and Roye, and the king found himself obliged to call out more troops. The city of Paris, besides five or six hundred horses, had made him a present of three regiments of infantry. . . . The general meeting of the army took place in the plains of Roye; the infantry amounted to thirty-five thousand men, and the cavalry to fifteen thousand. The first exploit was the siege of the town." *

For the space of four years the war continued thus in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Germany. Cardinal de La Valette made himself master in

* Bussy Rabutin, *Mémoires*, edit. Lalanne, i. 12, 13.

1637 of Câteau Cambrésis, Landrecies, and Maubeuge. In 1638, another dignitary of the Church, Sourdis, archbishop of Bordeaux, destroyed a Spanish fleet near Fuenterabia, and ravaged repeatedly the coasts of Spain and of Southern Italy. The most brilliant successes, however, occurred on the Rhine. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar defeated the Imperialists at Rheinfeld, took prisoner their general, John van Weerth, and carried Brisach by storm after three victories. He was thinking of assuming the sovereignty of Alsace and Brisgau, when he died, very opportunely for Louis XIII., who inherited his conquests and his army (1639).

The province of Artois then belonged to the Spaniards; it was invaded during the next campaign by three marshals, La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and Chaulnes, who laid siege to Arras. Beck and Lamboy, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, hastened to relieve the city. The French marshals were divided in their opinion; one wanted to stay within the entrenched lines, another thought it more advisable to offer battle to the enemy. Richelieu, being called upon to decide, said, "Gentlemen, when the king gave you the command of the army, it was because he thought you capable. You may leave the lines or not, as you please; but you shall answer with your heads for the taking of the town." A few days afterwards the Spaniards were defeated, and Arras compelled to surrender (August, 1640). It was a second province wrested from the house of Austria.

The French forces were busy at the same time in Northern Italy. After the death of Victor Amadeus in 1640, his brothers, Prince Thomas of Carignan and the Cardinal Maurice, backed by a Spanish army, had endeavoured to deprive of the regency Christina, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and widow of the late duke.

The Duchess Christina was neither strong enough to defend herself, nor confident enough to give over to the French the fortified positions which they asked. It was not until she had been driven from Turin by the Spaniards that she went to Grenoble for the purpose of asking the help of the king her brother. She made up her mind to place under the protection of France both Savoy and the few fortresses remaining to her, and thus saved herself from complete political ruin. Instead of his friend Cardinal de La Valette, who had just died, Richelieu sent into Piedmont Count d'Harcourt, an accomplished general, but who had not yet enjoyed an opportunity of giving on the field of battle the measure of his talents. *Cadet-la-perle* (such was d'Harcourt's nickname*) relieved Casale, and with a body of 8000 men alone, defeated before Turin 20,000 Spaniards. We are told that the Marquis of Léganez, when sending him the usual message for the exchange of the prisoners, added, "If I was King of France I would have Count d'Harcourt beheaded for ven-

* Because he was younger son (*cadet*) of the family of Lorraine Elbeuf, and wore a pearl as an earring.

turing upon a battle against forces so much superior to his own." "If I was King of Spain," answered D'Harcourt, "I would have the Marquis of Léganez beheaded for allowing himself to be beaten by an army weaker than his own." The Count d'Harcourt obtained a second success over the Spaniards before Casale, broke through their lines, approached Turin, besieged it, and compelled it to capitulate after a resistance which lasted three months. This siege is remarkable by a fact which, says M. Weiss,* is unique in the annals of military science. Prince Thomas of Savoy, master of the town, besieged the citadel, which was occupied by the French, and was himself besieged by D'Harcourt, whose camp was surrounded by the forces of Léganez. The success of this expedition was mainly due to the skill of Turenne, who, triumphing over all obstacles, contrived to send provisions to the French. However, Count d'Harcourt obtained great and deserved glory by his courage. In 1641 he defeated the Cardinal of Savoy before Ivrea, compelled Prince Thomas to raise the siege of Sivas, and made himself master of Coni. The authority of the Regent Christina was thus re-established, and the princes of Savoy brought back into an alliance with France (1640–1642). Count d'Harcourt received in 1643 orders to protect the provinces of Picardy and Artois, and he was subsequently despatched by Louis XIII. to England for the purpose of mediating between

* *Biographie Universelle*, art. "Harcourt (d')."

Charles I. and the Parliament. We shall find him, later on, mixed up with the events of the *Fronde*.

Spain, busily occupied in defending itself against the rebels of Portugal and Catalonia, could not afford to send its troops out of the Peninsula (1640). Richelieu has sometimes, but erroneously, been supposed to have connived at the revolution which placed Juan de Braganza on the throne of Portugal; this event and the rising were, however, worth the gain of battles to France, as M. Michelet has very well remarked. At any rate the cardinal helped the new king, and persuaded the Catalans to acknowledge Louis XIII. as Count of Barcelona and of Roussillon. A French army, commanded by La Mothe-Houdancourt, drove the Spaniards from Catalonia; another one, under the king himself, took Perpignan, and added to France the province or district of Roussillon, which has belonged to it ever since (September, 1641).

Thus deprived of the assistance of Spain, Austria had less chance of success. In 1631 the Swedes had been compelled to retire into Pomerania in consequence of the battle of Nordlingen, and of the Elector of Saxony's defeat. Thanks to the timely intervention of France, Banner, who was surnamed *the Second Gustavus*, took the offensive in 1636, and defeated the Imperialists at Wittstock; he routed them again at Chemnitz (1639), marched into Bohemia, and, assisted by Count de Guébriant, one of the most celebrated tacticians

of the day, he very nearly carried off at Ratisbon, in 1631, both the diet of the empire and the emperor himself. He had crossed the Danube on the ice; a sudden thaw saved Ferdinand III., and shortly afterwards death delivered him of his formidable adversary. Whilst Banner's successor, the renowned Torstenson, so paralyzed that he had to be carried in a litter at the head of his army, astonished Europe by the rapidity of his operations, and by a series of glorious victories in Silesia and Saxony, Guébriant led the Weimarian army into the western provinces of the empire, he defeated Piccolomini at Wolfenbuttel (1641), and Lamboy at Kempen in the electorate of Cologne.

It was in the middle of these successes that the hand of death struck down Richelieu. On the 21st of June, 1642, the *Gazette de France* had published the following news without any commentary: "The king has arrested the Marquis de Cinq-Mars, grand equerry of France." On the 2nd of December, not quite six months after, the inhabitants of Paris were informed also by the *Gazette* that public prayers were ordered in all churches for the health of the cardinal. The king immediately came from Saint Germain to see the minister; he found him quite conscious of his sinking state, and prepared to die. "I have this satisfaction," he said, "that I have never failed in my service to the king, and that I leave his kingdom exalted and his enemies destroyed." He then questioned the physicians. "Monseigneur," said one of them,

"in twenty-four hours you will be dead or cured." "That is speaking to the point," answered the cardinal; and he sent for the *curé* of Saint-Eustache, his parish church. When he saw the Holy Eucharist, he said, "There is the Judge before whom I shall soon appear; I pray Him with all my heart to condemn me, if I have had any other aim than the welfare of religion and the interests of the state." The ministering priest having asked him if he forgave his enemies, "I have never had," answered he, "any other enemies except those of the state." He expressed the same thought in his will. "I have loved justice and not vengeance; if I have been severe towards some, it was in order to be kind to all." On the 14th of December, 1642, about noon he expired, leaving Chavigny and Des Noyers, his two secretaries of state, to carry on his grand projects under the direction of Giulio Mazarini, whom he recommended to the king as his successor.

The death of the cardinal showed Louis XIII. in an unfavourable light. The selfishness which was his great defect, and the littleness of his character, openly manifested themselves; he expressed no regret at the removal of him to whom his reign owed all its splendour; he seemed, on the contrary, like a prisoner who has just recovered his liberty. At the same time, he was wise enough to see that Richelieu's policy was the only safe one. Bouthillier, Chavigny, and Des Noyers were retained in their respective offices as well as

Chancellor Séguier, and on the 5th of December Mazarin took his seat at the council board. A circular letter, sent to the governors of the various provinces and the local parliaments, informed them that, "it having pleased God to call back to himself the Cardinal de Richelieu, the king was determined to keep up and maintain all the establishments decreed during his administration, and to carry on all the projects they had settled together with respect both to home and to foreign affairs, so that there would be no change whatever." A similar message was despatched to the various ambassadors at the foreign courts, and by an act of deference to the advice which Richelieu had given on his dying bed, the royal declaration, signed December 1st, which degraded Monsieur whilst granting him his pardon, was sent down on the 9th to the Parliament and registered in the midst of a profound silence.

However, it was perfectly impossible for Louis XIII. to adhere scrupulously to the statement we have given above; the strain had been everywhere too great, and the present ministers were neither willing nor able to continue it. No general measure, indeed, was proposed with the view of setting at liberty all the persons whom Richelieu had visited with his displeasure; but a good many individual concessions were made, and free pardons granted. Marshals de Vitry and Bassompierre left the Bastille; the Archbishop of Bordeaux received permission to retire to his diocese; the Duke

d'Orléans himself was allowed to reappear at court.

Meanwhile, the health of the king, which had been declining for some time, finally gave way, and on the 19th of April Chavigny took upon himself the unpleasant duty of informing his Majesty that his days were numbered. If we may believe Madame de Motteville, Louis XIII. "embraced the minister, thanking him warmly for this piece of news, and telling him that he had never felt so much joy in all his life than on hearing he was about to die." The following day he summoned around his bedside at Saint Germain the queen, his two sons, the Duke d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, the dukes and peers of the realm, the marshals of France, the cabinet ministers and all the chief officers of the crown. The deed was then read aloud, appointing Anne of Austria regent, and the Duke d'Orléans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under her. They were to be assisted by a council of regency, without whose sanction nothing of importance could be done, and where a majority of votes was indispensable for the carrying out of any weighty measure. The council was composed of the Prince de Condé, Mazarin, the chancellor, Bouthillier, and Chavigny. On the 14th of May, 1643, Louis XIII. died, thirty years, day for day, and almost hour for hour, after his accession to the throne.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION AND POLICE.

Let us now take leave of camps and battle-fields, and follow Richelieu in the seclusion of his cabinet, where, assisted by his faithful coadjutor Father Joseph, nicknamed *l'Éminence Grise*, he elaborates the plans which in various ways and by different channels tend uniformly to the centralization of power within the hands of the king, and to the establishment of absolute monarchy. The proud motto, "Le roy gouverne par lui-même," painted by the orders of Louis XIV. on the ceiling of one of the rooms at Versailles, might well have been adopted by the cardinal, and he certainly acted up to the spirit which dictated it.

Before entering fully into all the details of the intricate subject, we must dismiss the preconceived ideas we have about ministers, secretaries of state, political councils, chancellor, etc.; the words are the same, the functions, duties, and privileges are entirely different.

We shall not say anything here respecting the

officers of the household; during the feudal times they enjoyed real authority, and were in possession of substantial privileges by virtue of their social position, as representing the highest families in the kingdom; but they had no political power whatever, especially the civil ones (high falconer, master of the hounds, high chamberlain, etc.). It was, of course, otherwise with the persons holding military posts. You cannot easily find a substitute for a distinguished and efficient soldier; accordingly the constable, the marshals, the admiral, the colonel of the infantry, and the grand master of the artillery being practically useful, were invested with corresponding power. This might make them in troublous times a source of danger to the crown; a great many of these offices were accordingly suppressed, whilst the others had to sink to the humiliating position of subordinates to the secretaries of state. The civilians were retained as adding to the prestige of the throne; there was nothing to be dreaded from them.

When Louis XIII. came to the throne, the constable and the chancellor were the only two dignitaries of any importance immediately below the king; the former represented the power of the sword, the latter that of the law. It is well known that at the death of Lesdiguières the office of constable was suppressed; had it continued, it must in course of time have become very much inferior to the rank and dignity of the chancellor. According to our modern notions the keeping of

the seals is necessarily committed to the chancellor; it was not so always, especially under the reign of Louis XIII., and it happened that if the head of the bench was in disgrace, the seals were entrusted to a removable dignitary, who, being dependent for his position on the good pleasure of the court, was more disposed to act as a tool in the hands of the king. For we must not forget that the chancellor held his office for life, and that he could only be deprived of it by virtue of a trial which, if decided against him, entailed capital punishment. For a very long time the chancellorship remained in possession of certain families of parliamentary origin, and whose talents were much superior to their extraction. Sillery, Marillac, Châteauneuf, D'Aligre, and Séguier had given decided proofs of ability, and although even for the appointment of a chancellor favouritism might sometimes find a hearing, yet this was by no means the general rule. As Viscount d'Avenel remarks, you may extemporize a chamberlain, you cannot do so in the case of the supreme magistrate of the realm.

Richelieu disliked everything akin to independence; he was anxious to surround himself with clever tools, and he did not wish to have any politician in France except himself. The composition of the council of state is an excellent instance of this fact. According to the universal opinion during the sixteenth century, and at the commencement of the seventeenth, the council of state was a delegation of the states-general—a permanent

commission advising the monarch, and assisting him in the planning and carrying out of useful alterations. Richelieu transformed it into a mere emanation of the royal will, and drove from it the few elements of independence it contained. "The cardinal made of the council of state," says M. Chéruel, "a kind of training-school for the administration, who had to carry from one end of France to the other the mandates of the king, and see that these mandates were speedily and completely executed."* The council thus lost in political power what it gained in administrative influence; and this is so true that whenever the king left Paris he added to the council, with the view of representing the government, the high almoner, the senior president of the parliament of Paris, the solicitor-general, and a few others.†

Let us quote from Viscount d'Avenel his description of the sittings of the council.

"They were generally held in the king's study, but there was nothing fixed in that respect. During the minority of Louis XIV. the place of assembly was sometimes at Charenton; under Louis XIII. the council frequently met at Ruel, in the cardinal's own house. . . . Opposite the centre of the table stood an armchair reserved for the king; on the right sat the princes of the royal family and the cardinals; on the left were the chancellor, the superintendent of the finances,

* *Administration Monarchique*, i. 286.
† Richelieu, *Mémoires*, ii. 143.

and the councillors according to their seniority. Nothing was settled except by the majority of votes. Even in the presence of the king all the members remained seated, and kept their hats on; they uncovered themselves when recording their votes, or when the chancellor gave his." *

The number of councillors was extremely large, and included many persons who evidently had no business whatever there; but it must be remembered that the privilege of *discharging the duties* belonging to that office was granted very sparingly, care being especially taken to keep out the chief members of the aristocracy. Even with this precaution it became absolutely necessary to thin the list; indeed, the states-general of 1614 proposed that forty-eight members alone should be appointed, viz. sixteen for each of the three orders. Richelieu went further still, reducing to sixteen the sum total of persons enjoying the right of admittance to the council.

We now come to the secretaries of state, who, four in number, were as different as it is possible to be from the ministers of the present time. The king, or rather the council, had the ministerial powers, and the secretaries corresponded very nearly, as far as their duties went, to the clerks who work now under the control and the responsibility of the several ministers. Most of the administrative questions to be solved were disposed of in the province or town where they had originated,

* Richelieu, i. 52.

and therefore the secretaries of state had very little important work to do; two or three clerks were all they wanted. They transacted their business in their own private studies; they paid the salaries of the scribes they employed; if they were noblemen, they sealed their despatches with their family coat-of-arms; if they belonged to the *roture*, they adopted some fancy emblem or motto.

The secretaries of state rose to very great authority, but only because they were absolutely dependent upon the sovereign. The less they were individually important, the more confidence they inspired in their master; and if their power went on increasing till the Revolution, it is because, whilst they were all-influential for every one else, they consented to remain small in the presence of the king. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the secretaries of state for war or for foreign affairs stood, under the reign of Louis XIII., at the head of the military or the diplomatic hierarchy; their only duty was to transmit and carry out the royal will; they had no power whatever over a general or an ambassador.

Another circumstance deserves also to be mentioned here; all political despatches were not entrusted to the secretaries of state. The king corresponded directly with the generals, *intendants*, governors of provinces, and other persons invested with local authority; he encouraged them to act independently of the secretaries, and the result was a want of harmony which did not prove

beneficial to public affairs. Hence again the continual use of cyphers, sympathetic inks, and other devices more or less ingenious which concealed the real character of political or administrative despatches. D'Urfé's *Astrée*, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Grand Cyrus*—the two most noteworthy romances of the day—had set the fashion for allegorical writing, and for narratives where the leading living characters appeared under fictitious names. Diplomacy adopted the idea, and carried it out, to the great annoyance of the inquisitive persons who wanted to pry into state secrets. Thus the king was designated as *Alexandre*, or *Le Chêne;* the queen was *Diana;* the Duke d'Orléans, *Hébertin;* the queen-mother, *Hébert*. Richelieu appears variously under the nicknames of *Nestor, Amadeau, Calori*; Mazarin became *Colmardo*, or *Le Père Coupe-chou;* and Father Joseph, *Ezéchiély*. The maids of honour are the *Sibyls;* the republic of Venice, *Jullin;* the Grisons, *Joachim;* Cinq-Mars, *Scipion*. These few examples will show to what a ridiculous extent the fashion was carried out, and what precautions were deemed necessary to keep state business absolutely secret.

It would be an interesting subject to follow Richelieu through one day of his active life, and to watch him as he appeared in his relations with his secretaries, his clerks, and his confidential agents. He rose habitually between seven and eight, and found at his bedside one of his private amanuenses, Charpentier or Pierre Cherré. The

former discharged the duties of *secrétaire de la main*, and wrote under the cardinal's dictation; he could imitate perfectly Richelieu's handwriting, and did so whenever etiquette required that this or that despatch should be in the minister's autograph. Tallemant des Réaux, who is not generally given to praise, bears conclusive evidence to Charpentier's disinterestedness. "He never would accept the smallest confiscation, refused every present, and was satisfied with very little." Cherré recommended himself to Richelieu by his diligence and his reserve. For a short time he got into disgrace because he had kept up a correspondence with one of the prisoners confined in the Bastille, but he soon pushed himself into favour again.

We have supposed Cherré and Charpentier sitting at a table in Richelieu's study, copying his despatches, or reading aloud some political document; after a short time the hour for the cardinal's reception comes, and *l'Éminence Grise* makes his appearance, bringing with him the latest news, and the summary of all the gossip he has heard during the course of the morning. François Le Clerc du Tremblay, the *alter ego* of Richelieu, came in, as might naturally be expected, for a good share of the abuse lavished upon his master by the disaffected Parisians. The satirical pamphlets of the day are full of allusions to him. In a wretched squib entitled *La Miliade*, and directed against the prime minister, we find the following lines which are meant to describe *le Père Joseph* :—

"Il a le zèle séraphique,
Il travaille pour l'hérétique,
Il a suivant et secrétaire,
Il a carrosse, il a cautère,
Il a des laquais insolents
Qui jurent mieux que ceux des grands."

Lacqueys, forsooth! a man whose only merit was his intriguing proclivities, and who, whatever he did, tried to show the most meddlesome disposition. "A capricious friar at the age of twenty-four, he distinguished himself by his reforming ardour; he did nothing but preach the crusades, and in the company of Madame de Rohan, M. de Brèves, and M. de Mantoue, he many a time conquered the estates of the sultan." That is the appreciation of Tallemant des Réaux. Richelieu first (1617) designated him as a man "who gave him good advice," and two years later he praised him for "the zeal he displayed in the re-establishment of his (the cardinal's) affairs." Let us add here that Louis XIII. named *l'Éminence Grise* to the cardinalate, but that the Pope refused to confirm the nomination.(§)

As we have in a previous chapter enumerated the leading warriors who commanded the French armies under the administration of Richelieu, it will be better, we think, to complete the details we have given here on the *civil service*, and just say a few words about the two principal secretaries of state, De Noyers and Chavigny.

François Sublet De Noyers began his official career as treasurer at Rouen; named comptroller-

general of the finances in 1634, he became secretary of state for war in 1636; he was at the same time superintendent of the royal palaces and keeper of Fontainebleau. He contrived to ingratiate himself with Richelieu, and acquired great influence over the army. The abbé Arnauld alludes to his roughness and his austerity; Tallemand says that he had the soul of a true valet, and that he used to mend the cardinal's walking-sticks. Cinq-Mars embraced him one day, and wishing to turn him into ridicule for wearing a sword, when he had scarcely strength or courage enough to use it, said, "There's to you, my brave fellow." Monglat informs us in his memoirs that Louis XIII. used to closet himself up with him in order to read the breviary.

One word now, to conclude, about Chavigny. Trained by Richelieu, he was a man of considerable merit, but of still greater ambition, and the decided share he took in the cardinal's most violent measures had made him generally hated. He had as his colleague in the council of state, Giulio Mazarini, and at first the two politicians seemed to be on terms of strong friendship with one another; as they both aspired, however, to the highest rank, as they both believed that Richelieu could not have a better qualified successor than Chavigny or Mazarin, their friendship soon turned into hatred. Already, at the very time of which we are now speaking, there broke out every now and then symptoms of bitter jealousy. Thus, on the

occasion of the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars, the Duke de Bouillon implicated in the plot had, as we have previously seen, been only too glad to give up his principality of Sédan to France in order to save his life. Now, it was Mazarin who had conducted the negotiation, and Chavigny was jealous at the success which the future minister had obtained; for in one of Mazarin's *carnets* (memorandum books) we find the following passage, under the date September 20, 1620: "At Narbonne, Chavigny, after having made to me for three consecutive days the warmest professions of friendship and affection, went to call upon ——, and told him that I might have dispensed with playing upon him (Chavigny) so scurvy a trick (the negotiation with the Duke de Bouillon); that I ought to be satisfied with seeing France weary of having raised to the cardinalate a monkling (*un fratiere*) like myself."

With the help of these various coadjutors, Richelieu spent most of his time in settling the affairs of the state; his chief recreation being the pursuit of literature, and the composition of dramatic works which were as poor and as worthless as can possibly be imagined. We must now examine a few of the reforms he introduced into the home policy of France, and see on what grounds he incurred the hatred which pursued him relentlessly till the day of his death. We must observe, in the first place, that if the animosity he excited was so intense, it was not confined to the nobility. Of course he aimed at destroying the power of the

aristocracy, but it would be an error to believe that the reason of this was because the nobles *were nobles*. If he attacked their authority, he attacked quite as energetically the power of the parliaments, the influence of the provincial assemblies, the liberties of the cities, the independence of the clergy. He wanted the king alone to represent the government of the state. No intermediate between him and the nation: *eis Koiranos estô*.

Now, in the early seventeenth century, the most tangible sign of power was a fortress, a castle with moat and drawbridge, garrison and governor. France was covered with these strongholds, and Richelieu saw that their destruction was a matter of absolute necessity. He accordingly obtained from Louis XIII. a decree to that effect. It bears date July 31, 1626, and was granted at the request of the deputies of Brittany. It crippled for ever the power of the aristocracy, by destroying their *châteaux;* and it was carried out with the utmost severity, on the very justifiable plea that fortresses not situated on the frontiers of the kingdom are useless for the purposes of national defence. It was only three days after the arrest of Chalais when the decree in question was signed. Although originally local in its character—for, as we have said, it was the result of a petition presented by the Bretons—Richelieu ordered that it should be applied throughout the kingdom. The work of demolition began with the citadels of Ancenis, Lamballe, and a few other towns belonging to the

Duke de Vendôme, who had been one of the accomplices in the plot made by Chalais. The government of Brest was purchased back by the king from the Marquis de Sourdéac, head of the powerful house of Rieux; the Duke de Retz, in like manner, had to give up, in consideration of a large sum of money, the property of Belle-Ile. This measure met with the heartiest support of the *bourgeoisie* and the people, and it seemed wonderful that Richelieu should have power enough thus to level with the ground the fastnesses which for so many ages had served as a protection to some of the most notorious criminals. The governors of the provinces had been consulted as a matter of form, but the assembly of the notables were directed to draw up, independently, a list of all the castles and strongholds to be pulled down; and besides preparing a statement for the districts of Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Provence, and Dauphiné, the meeting proposed, as a general measure, that all fortifications built, without permission of the king, in private residences for the last thirty years should be destroyed from the roof to the foundation (*de fond en comble*). "It is an iniquitous thing," said Richelieu, "to wish to set an example by punishing the humble who give no umbrage; and as we should treat the nobles well when they behave well, so we ought to keep them under discipline more than the other subjects of the realm." Let us add that the work of destruction did not take place as easily as might be imagined, for as late as 1629

Richelieu, alluding to the subject, expressed his wish that it should be soon thoroughly completed.

The establishment of the *intendants*, or administrators of the various provinces, is another important fact which must be taken into consideration whilst enumerating the attacks made by Richelieu upon the privileges of the aristocracy. Under favour of the civil wars, the governors of the provinces, all belonging, as a matter of course, to the highest families in the realm, had almost universally shaken off the yoke of the royal authority: they had in their own name raised troops, assessed and collected taxes, and administered justice; in fact, they had usurped every kind of power, and become petty tyrants for the provinces they governed. They regarded their offices as a kind of hereditary property which they were lawfully entitled to transmit to their children, and which they did not mean to give up except in exchange for dignities or pensions. When Richelieu came into office in 1624, there were no less than nineteen principal governors, including personages of such consequence as the Dukes de Longueville, De Chevreuse, De Vendôme, and De Montbazon, the Princes De Condé and De Guémené; all these were by virtue of their own position pledged to oppose as much as they could the development of the monarchical policy, and, as a matter of fact, nearly every one of them took a part more or less prominent against the cardinal. At the death of Richelieu, only four out of the

nineteen original ones remained; the rest had, with a few exceptions, found their way either to the Bastille or to the scaffold. They were replaced by the *intendants*, who acted as delegates from the king in all matters touching upon the administration of justice, police, and finances. The office of *intendant* existed before Richelieu, but he increased its powers, made it permanent, and introduced gradually several notable improvements, which were completed in 1637, when the *régime* of *intendances* was uniformly applied to all the kingdom. Liable to be dismissed at pleasure, and depending absolutely on the good will of the minister, these responsible officers were the agents of the central power; their business consisted in carrying out with blind obedience the decrees and edicts emanating from the king; and therefore, feeling themselves always supported by him, they did not hesitate to execute the duties with which they were entrusted. They had the delicate task of controlling the action of the governors and the local parliaments, taking care that the former should not step beyond the discharge of their military functions, and that the latter should not attempt to assume the powers of independent legislators. It is obvious that, in his desire to suppress all the petty tyrants who till then had kept the kingdom in a constant state of disorder and civil warfare, Richelieu had gone to the opposite extreme, and established the *unity* instead of the *multiplicity* of despotism. Nor can we be

astonished at finding that the immense power given to the *intendants* roused the anger, not only of the aristocracy, but of the local parliaments. Eleven years had scarcely elapsed, and in 1648, at the commencement of the *Fronde*, the parliament of Paris, for a short space of time triumphant over the crown, claimed as one of the guarantees of public freedom, the suppression of the hated *intendants*.

We are thus naturally led to examine the relations which Richelieu had with those semi-political, semi-judicial bodies which aimed at taking permanently the place of the States-general. The most important of all was, of course, the one held in Paris, and it was not likely that the cardinal minister, so resolutely opposed to the intervention of the nobility in the affairs of the State, would allow a body of legists to assume the same pretensions.

It is necessary that we should, in the first place, enquire a little into the constitution of the Parliament, its duties and its privileges. The reader must not suppose that there was the slightest analogy between that body as it existed under the *ancien régime* and with the political assemblies which make the laws at the present day, or the tribunals which see that these laws are carried out. It consisted of about one hundred and fifty members distributed between eight chambers: (1) *la grand'chambre*, (2) the five *chambres des enquêtes*, and (3) the two *chambres des requêtes;* each chamber had a president, except the *grand'chambre*, which

had six. The *présidents à mortier*, two advocates-general, and one solicitor-general completed the list of the members of the court. The *grand'-chambre*, as its name sufficiently points out, was the principal branch of the Parliament; it tried only cases of greatest importance; the beds of justice and the solemn audiences were held in its precincts. In the *chambres des enquêtes* trials were judged from written inquiries and reports drawn up by special magistrates; the *chambres des requêtes* examined and decided as to the petitions presented to the king. The advocates-general and the solicitor-general were designated as the *king's men* (*les gens du roi*); but it would be an error to look upon them as the blind tools of the Government. Like the councillors, they were the owners of their offices, and, once appointed, they could not be removed. If we consider the parliamentary hierarchy, we find a councillor in the *grand'chambre* was far superior in position to a *conseiller aux enquêtes*; a *président aux enquêtes* aimed at being advocate-general; an *advocate* or *solicitor general* thought that the greatest piece of fortune which might happen to him was to be named *président à mortier*, for these magistrates (thus called from the cap [*mortier*] they wore) were attached to the highest of the courts. The senior president sat in Parliament as the immediate representative of the king; his attributes were nearly those of a chairman of the legislative body nowadays, named by the Government. The *grand'chambre* was the con-

servative element, whilst the *chambres des enquêtes* constituted the opposition, if we may so say, the party of progress and of liberalism. "The *enquêtes*," says Omer Talon, "are composed partly of middle-aged persons, partly of young men who are led about by their president. 'All the principle of evil in your body,' said the king one day to the court, 'resides in certain members of the *enquêtes*.'" *

There is no doubt whatever that the Parliament, backed by the nation, raised pretensions which to some might appear quite exorbitant; they formed so really and distinctly the fundamental institution of the State, that the first duty of the king on ascending the throne was to preside over a bed of justice, that is to say over the whole Parliament, assembled and assisted by the minister, the officers of the crown, and the principal members of the royal household. As a legislative body the Parliament (we have it in Richelieu's own words) maintained their right of accepting for the will or order of the king only what they had approved, and they fought to the last extremity for that right. They admitted no limit to their authority, no restriction whatever; for they said that it was tantamount to that of the kings." Fontenay-Mareuil adds, with an evident feeling of indignation, that they pretended to reform the Government whenever anything occurred which displeased them; with that view they made assemblies where

* *Mémoires*, pp. 588, 590.

they adopted resolutions contrary to the will of the sovereign. The despotic measures of Richelieu, on the one hand, in dealing with the Parliaments, cannot always be justified, even on political grounds; but, on the other, the Parliament of Paris systematically opposed every measure put forward by their adversary, however trifling in itself—the creation, for instance, of the Académie Française; a purely literary measure, which had nothing whatever to do with party politics. Weary of the antagonism which he constantly met from a company of men whose resistance to his will was the more galling because it was not unfrequently the result of legitimate grievances, Richelieu determined upon stopping it effectually, and he published the famous declaration of 1641, as it is generally called, which, setting forth the absolute neccessity of upholding the authority of the crown, and reminding France of the disastrous consequences of the *Ligue*, prohibited under the severest penalties the "sovereign courts" from meddling in any way with questions either of politics or of administration. This bold measure may be said to have put an end to the influence of the Parliaments as political bodies; and although they made a fresh attempt during the minority of Louis XIV., yet the abortive revolution of the Fronde only served to show that, if they had been successful, their want of experience would have entailed far worse consequences than even the cardinal's despotism. This must not make us forget that the

French magistracy, as we have already stated, gave a noble example by protesting against the arbitrary measures which Richelieu carried out in spite of the plainest rules of equity and fair dealing. It is really curious to see the tyrannical statesman unblushingly declaring that France will never be quiet and happy until the whole of Europe is persuaded that the king can neither love nor tolerate those who do not love the cardinal. We have already had occasion to name a great admirer of Richelieu, Voiture; another author of the same school has the impudence to say that "certain guilty persons who were on the point of committing a crime were arrested between the *thought* and the *carrying out* of that thought, and sent to the Bastille." He then goes on to praise the king for "discovering so happy a medium between death and impunity." The panegyric is no doubt a most ingenious one, but it did not commend itself to the approval of the highest court in the kingdom; and on the 28th of November, 1631, the Paris Parliament, besides addressing its remonstrances to the king, summoned Laffemas ("the cardinal's hangman"), and threatened him with legal proceedings if he was bold enough to carry out any sentence pronounced by special tribunals.

It is a matter of regret that Richelieu should have condescended to make use of such abject creatures as Machaud and *Le bourreau du cardinal*, who, although appointed to the office of *maître des requêtes*, were nothing but tools of the minister, and

blindly aided him in that system of terrorism which anticipated at the beginning of the seventeenth century the decrees of the revolutionary tribunal and the horrors of 1793. Laffemas is the better known of the two. We have alluded to his position as *maître des requêtes;* he had obtained it spite of the Parliament, and as a reward for his zeal. La Porte calls him the chief game purveyor (*grand gibecier*) of France; Despeisses describes him as *vir bonus, strangulandi peritus.* If we may believe Tallemant des Réaux, when the weather was fine he used to say, "What a splendid day this would be to send some one to the gallows!" He was fond of composing burlesque poetry under the name of Nicholas le Duc. The satire we have already quoted, *La Miliade,* thus appreciates Machaud and Laffemas:—

"Mais quels insignes attentats
Ont fait Machaud et Laffemas. . . .
Les bourreaux de qui les souhaits
Sont de peupler tous les gibets. . . .
En décapitant ils se jouent,
Ils sont encor plus gais s'ils rouent."

What is most to be deplored by those who have any sense of honour, is to see men such as Séguier joining the band of the cardinal's unscrupulous agents; but, with all his talents, Séguier was extremely fond of money; his only object in life was to enrich himself. Tallemant says of him that he was a great thief, and the anonymous author of the squib from which we have borrowed the lines above does not forget him:—

C'est un esclave volontaire,
Il est valet de Richelieu ; . . .
Il ne croit pas d'illustre ouvrage
Que de s'enrichir davantage."

From these extracts the reader will not be surprised to hear that *La Miliade* (§) was the satire which gave most annoyance to Cardinal Richelieu; he sent many persons to prison for their supposed share in its composition. Its real title was *Le Gouvernement présent ou éloge de son Éminence.*

When a man has at his disposal the Bastille, the Châtelet, and other means of repression equally formidable, the best, the only course for his opponents is to keep silence, and to avoid especially committing their thoughts to paper, except on non-political subjects. It was Richelieu who said, "On three lines of a man's handwriting you can institute against him a criminal case."

Another praiseworthy act of the Paris Parliament occurred when the Duke de La Valette, third son of the Duke d'Épernon, was tried by default, on the supposed plea of having caused the siege of Fuentarabia to fail out of spite against the Prince de Condé. A court, presided over by Louis XIII. himself, was formed to try the case; it included several members of the Paris Parliament, who, notwithstanding the king's threats, resolutely maintained the exclusive right of the supreme court to decide on questions affecting the life of peers of the realm. Most of the members ultimately yielded, but the solicitor-general, the celebrated Mathieu Molé,

refused to the last to carry out the sentence of condemnation, and it was with difficulty that an inferior magistrate could be prevailed upon to do so.

The extreme suspicion with which the Parliament viewed the special or exceptional tribunals summoned together from time to time led them strenuously to oppose an institution we have already alluded to, and which was known as the *grands jours*. There is no doubt, however, that the *grands jours* did excellent service in those times when the laws which regulated the police were in a rudimentary state. Local parliaments being originally limited in number, and their respective jurisdictions necessarily extensive, criminals often escaped the action of justice, and whilst the less guilty were severely punished, the most influential, either by their social position or their fortune, contrived to escape. As the organization of the local courts became more complete, and the number of these courts more in proportion with the extent of the kingdom, the *grands jours* were held less frequently, and during the seventeenth century they almost entirely ceased. A royal declaration called them together at Poitiers in 1634. "The opening of the *grands jours*," says an eye-witness, "took place with all the solemnities used for the opening of the Parliament. On Tuesday, September 5, the royal commissioners repaired in procession, in their red gowns, to the palace of Poitiers between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. An altar had been

erected there, on the top of the long steps, and at the extremity of these steps were two large platforms, on either side one, with two choirs of music. When the members had arrived, a pontifical high mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Poitiers, and the aforesaid commissioners went one by one to the offertory, each according to his rank; they were followed by the Sieur de Saint George, governor of the city, the members of the presidial, the rector of the university, and all the others afterwards. The bishop having officiated, took his seat with the councillors for the opening of the court. Business began on the eleventh." *

The action of the *grands jours* amply showed that considerable improvement was still needed in the administration of justice, but the results were not altogether satisfactory. "The short time during which the sittings are held prevents the most serious evils from being removed, and the best remedies from being applied. The first few days are spent in visits, and no sooner are the proceedings in good trim than the time for breaking up has arrived. Besides this, the arrestation and due punishment of the criminals depend on the vigilance and discretion of the provosts of the marshals, who are corrupt and untrustworthy men. Nothing can be hoped from them unless their actions are watched with the utmost care and

* *Relation contemporaine des Grands Jours tenus à Poitiers*, in the *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France*, vol. vi., 2nd series, pp. 175 and foll.

assiduity. Lastly, those who manage to elude the active authority of the *grands jours* and those who escape punishment altogether become all the more insolent; they carry on their oppression with greater freedom than ever, fancying that they have got out of a peril into which it is not likely that they will fall again." *

These remarks are from the pen of Omer Talon, who, as member of the Paris Parliament, was not likely to view in the most favourable light the institution of the *grands jours;* still there is undoubtedly a considerable proportion of truth in what he says, and his evidence is amply confirmed by other independent witnesses.

We cannot, of course, enter into all the details of the police regulations established by Cardinal Richelieu; after the civil wars of the sixteenth century, it was not so much a reform that was wanted in that direction as a thorough creation. With all his excellent intentions, Henry IV. found his time too much absorbed by weightier matters of home and foreign policy, and when we read the amusing description of the capital of France which Boileau gives in his *Embarras de Paris,* we see how much even Richelieu's activity left to be done in matters of police and of local administration.

As far as the finances were concerned, the least that can be said is that Richelieu found himself obliged, by the necessities of the times, to increase the taxes in an enormous proportion, contrary to

* Omer Talon, *Mémoires.*

his own wishes and his better judgment. The difference between the *nett* and the gross income of the State became scandalous on account of the imperfect way in which the taxes were collected. Out of eighty million livres which France contributed in 1643, only thirty-three millions went into the treasury, and as the expenses amounted to eighty-nine millions, the deficit reached the sum of fifty-six millions; besides which, the income for three years was spent in advance. The exchequer was thus ruined, and, on the other hand, the lower classes of society were reduced to absolute want. The following sentence from Richelieu's *Testament politique* has often been quoted as being the programme of his financial administration: "If the people were in too easy circumstances, it would be impossible to keep them within the limits of their duty." It is, we must confess, difficult to construe this passage into a systematic determination to grind down the country by the weight of unreasonable taxation. Let us see what the cardinal says elsewhere: "If the taxes were not moderate, they would be unjust, even supposing they were useful to the public. . . . The less we can get out of the people, the better. . . . The true means of enriching the State is by relieving the people." We may add that his conduct, as a matter of fact, was in accordance with these last maxims. Whilst adding to the national burdens, he always protested that he did so "with tears in his eyes, and extreme pain in his heart," and he promised to

lighten the taxes as soon as circumstances allowed him to do so; further, he did all he could to render the administration of the finances as regular and economical as he possibly could, and his government cannot assuredly be accused of having indulged in the lavish expenditure which Mary de' Medici and Constable de Luynes had so wantonly encouraged. Financial reforms were only possible on condition of a real and lasting peace, and that Richelieu could not give to France. On several occasions he endeavoured to secure a fairer assessment of the capitation tax, and by punishing severely those persons who defrauded the exchequer he prevented the demands of the government from weighing with unnecessary severity upon those who did pay. Finally, his selection of D'Effiat and Bullion, successively, as superintendents of the finances, showed his earnest desire to maintain order and regularity, even when he was obliged to have recourse to the financial expediencies the most prejudicial to the national wealth. (§) He did not display in the interest of agriculture the care which had distinguished Sully's administration, and if he protected the farmers and peasantry against the tyranny of the *grands-seigneurs*, he did not sufficiently secure them from the rapacity of the tax collectors; hence the rising of the *croquants* (§) and the *va-nu-pieds*, which broke out at various intervals from 1626 to 1637. An insurrection of the *croquants* had already taken place in 1594, and the disaffected peasants, driven to fury by the

unreasonable amount of the taxes, formed an army of between thirty and forty thousand men recruited from the provinces of Limousin, Rouergue, Quercy, La Marche, etc. A multitude undisciplined and undrilled could not, of course, oppose any serious resistance to the royal troops, and they were easily defeated by the general sent against them; at the same time the king was obliged to yield, and even to cancel the capitation taxes which were still unpaid. In 1624 a second rising of the *croquants* occurred in Périgord and Rouergue; Marshal Thémines massacred them mercilessly on the 7th of June, and the two leaders of the insurrection, Dasat and Barrau, perished on the scaffold. In 1637 the disaffected flew to arms for the third time, but their efforts proved useless, and the king ended by granting a general amnesty.

Meanwhile a movement of a much more serious kind was taking place in Normandy, and the rebels of that province, under the designation of *va-nu-pieds*, had put to death a great many of the collectors of the taxes, burnt down their houses, and destroyed both their property and the offices where the money was wont to be paid. What could be expected from the "army of suffering" (*armée de souffrance*), who knew the government but as a grinding-machine on a huge scale, deaf to the cries of woe, and extorting the last *sou*, the smallest article of furniture, from those who could not afford to buy so much as a loaf of bread? Rouen became the scene of the most serious tumult; the whole

Parliament in their robes interfered energetically for the protection of Le Tellier de Tourneville, receiver general of the *gabelle*, and his officers, and they sent a deputation to Paris with the view both of informing his majesty of the state of things, and of obtaining from him military aid. This application was immediately answered, but it proved fatal to the Rouen magistrates, who were charged with having allowed the insurrection to spread, and gain day by day an amount of strength which might easily have been stopped at first by a determined course of action. Colonel Gassion, well known by his sternness of character as well as by his military qualities, was sent down into Normandy.

We must not compare these seditions with the mediæval *jacqueries* directed against the lords and barons. In the present case the hatred of the mob had for its object the salt warehouses or the custom-houses. No wonder: in days of yore, it was the baron who ground down his vassals; now it was the king who, through the medium of his delegates, fleeced his subjects, and reduced them to poverty.

The proximate cause of the insurrection in the district of Avranches and at Caen was the prohibition of white salt, which the people till then had uniformly used; in the northern part of the province it was the establishment of a duty (*droit de marque*) on broadcloths. Bills pasted up throughout the country called the people to arms

"for the defence and freedom of the land oppressed by the tax-collectors and custom-house officers." The Bishop of Avranches tells us that, instead of saying, *Domine salvum fac regem*, his diocesans chanted, *Domine salvum fac gregem;* it was on behalf of the people that help from Heaven was most needed.

An edict re-establishing the salt-tax in the elections of Valognes, Avranches, Mortain, Coutances and Carentan, had been sent to the *cour des aides* at Caen to be registered. The judges could not agree as to the necessity and propriety of the measure; it had been accordingly postponed; still the odious tax seemed likely to be enforced, and the people were in a great state of irritation about it. In the month of July, 1639, Charles de Poupinel, lord of La Bernardière, magistrate at Coutances, visiting Avranches on business connected with his office, was suspected of having come for the express purpose of establishing the *gabelle*. The peasants of the neighbourhood were so thoroughly persuaded that such was his design, especially as his brother-in-law farmed the salt-tax, that they gathered round the house where he lodged, broke the door open and put him to death, as well as two of his servants.

The army of the *va-nu-pieds*, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, was commanded, it is reported, by a *curé* of the country; their standard represented a black anchor with an image of Saint John the Baptist, and the motto *Fuit homo*

missus a Deo cui nomen erat Joannes. The leader of this strange force sent circulars all over the province with the direction that they should be read on Sundays from the pulpit of every parish church. He apologized to the magistrates of certain districts for not having visited them yet, announcing at the same time that he would soon come and deliver them from the new taxes. All those established since the reign of Henry IV. were to be done away with, and whilst the persons supposed to have had anything to do with the extortions ordered by Richelieu were sought out and punished, no harm whatever was done either to the magistrates or to the other officers of the crown. In some localities it was believed that these were even, if not directly helping the rebels, at any rate taking purposely no action against them; thus M. de Matignon in Lower Normandy, and M. de Canisy, Governor of Avranches. The fact is, that all right-minded *gentilshommes* knew to what a state of misery the poor people were reduced, and could not help sympathizing with them.

Gassion arrived about the month of November, at the head of eight regiments of infantry and several companies of cavalry. Leaving at Vernon and at Les Andelys a detachment of five hundred men, he marched immediately upon Caen, which was disarmed. Along with Gassion went a magistrate (*intendant*) who was attached to the staff, and whose business it was to try and condemn the

rebels. Several of these were hung *untried;* others were broken alive on the rack, and their bodies afterwards cut up in pieces. "They died," says an eye-witness, "without showing any signs of repentance for their rebellion," and the multitude looked on silently, but sympathizing evidently with the unfortunate victims. The inhabitants of Caen had to pay a war contribution of sixty thousand livres. Gassion then marched towards Avranches, where the army of the *va-nu-pieds* had taken up its position; he arrived there about the middle of December. Avranches, built on the summit of a hill, was surrounded at that time by strong walls. The rebels were intrenched in an excellent position, holding one of the suburbs half-way up the hill between the ramparts and the sands of Mont Saint Michel. Instead of waiting for the approach of the royal forces, they divided themselves into two companies; the one kept the barricades, whilst the other advanced towards the banks of a river which crosses the usual Avranches road, and at the passage of which they reckoned upon meeting Gassion's army. He, however, reached the city by another side, fell unexpectedly on the rebels, and ordered his men to carry the intrenchments. Despite their small number, the *va-nu-pieds* stood their ground and received the troops with a heavy discharge of musketry. The soldiers drove the mob from the suburbs; they lost five privates and seven or eight officers, including the Marquis de Courtomer, who was shot down whilst in the act of encouraging

his men. A great many of the rebels were killed in the action; some met with their death by drowning whilst endeavouring to escape to Mont Saint Michel by the sands; a few more, taken prisoners, were hung on the spot.

At Coutances and Elbeuf the insurrection was also put down with the utmost severity; and when, on the 31st of December, 1639, the troops entered Rouen, there was nothing to do but to try the ringleaders and send them to the gallows. Chancellor Séguier had come in person to superintend the proceedings. "None of these disorders," said the representative of the government, "would have happened but for the cowardice and connivance of those who had the authority and power to prevent them." The magistrates were held responsible for the damage done in the towns, and the *gentilshommes* for that committed in the country districts; orders were given to draw up a list of those persons who had absented themselves during the riots, and to deliver that list into the hands of the chancellor. This summary way of dealing reminds us of the famous *loi des suspects*, passed during the worst times of the Revolution; and there is no doubt whatever that some of the measures decreed by the magistrates were perfectly lawful and justifiable, as when, for instance, the *cour des aides* prohibited the raising of taxes if the edicts ordering these taxes to be paid had not been duly registered. But Richelieu's *sic volo* was at that time held supreme, and it is a wonder that he did not think fit to

adopt the propositions of his creature Séguier, who suggested that the city of Rouen should be levelled with the ground. At any rate, Gassion's army was quartered upon the habitants, and a system of terror strictly carried out soon illustrated in the strongest manner all the vices of absolute government. The gallows remained *en permanence*, so to say; the executions were numerous, both in Upper and in Lower Normandy, and the Parliament of Rouen, ordered to leave the town at once, were replaced *pro tempore* by a body of fifteen councillors selected from the Parliament of Paris. We need scarcely add that the whole province had to pay the heaviest taxes, Rouen alone being assessed to the amount of three millions. This put an end, not to the dissatisfaction, but to outward expressions of it, in the shape of popular risings; and the Parliament, on its being allowed to meet again, took good care not to excite Richelieu's indignation either by remissness in its duties or by assuming ideas of independence.

On the subject of trade, commerce, and maritime operations in general, we can speak more favourably. Previous to the siege of La Rochelle, it could scarcely be said that France possessed a navy; after each expedition, the ships belonging to the State came into a harbour, where it was supposed that they remained under the care of their respective captains. There they stood completely neglected, and when wanted again for use it was a long time before they could be put into repair,

collected together, and efficiently manned. In the year 1629, Richelieu instructed an able engineer named D'Infreville to visit all the ocean seaboard, and to select the most convenient spots for the construction of three arsenals. D'Infreville immediately started on his tour of inspection, and surveyed in the greatest detail the coast between Calais and Bayonne. His report, which has been published, embodies a large number of most valuable particulars on the maritime forces of that part of France, the collecting of the custom-house dues, the arming and fitting out of the ships, the means of defence of the harbours, the spirit of the inhabitants, the number of persons employed in the trade with Africa and America, the amount of sailors, pilots, carpenters, captains, etc., etc. The places he had selected for the erection of the three arsenals were Brouage, Le Hâvre, and Brest; he explained in detail the various sources which were at the disposal of the government towards the formation of a navy, and he recommended to the cardinal the illustrious Duquesne.

It is wonderful to notice the promptness with which Richelieu availed himself of D'Infreville's suggestions and carried them out. In doing so, he found a most efficient coadjutor in Sublet de Noyers; and, thanks to the energetic measures of those two men, the trade between France and foreign countries reached a state of prosperity it had never known before. The government concluded treaties of commerce with most nations, and favoured as

much as it could the organization of companies for the purpose of colonial trade. Efficient steps were also taken to determine and place on a proper footing the position of the agents whose business it was to protect French merchants in foreign countries; the earliest regulations respecting the establishment of consulates belong to that epoch. It is much to be regretted that Richelieu should have allowed French influence to dwindle away in the Levant; on the other hand, he did his best to render the Mediterranean traffic more secure than it had ever been, and he endeavoured to obtain a new outlet for French enterprise in northern parts by making negotiations with Russia, Denmark, and Sweden.

It is not too much to say that when Richelieu arrived at power, the army stood in as much need of reform as the navy. The civil and religious wars of the sixteenth century had indeed kept up the military spirit of the nation, but had thoroughly demoralized the troops. Irregularly paid, and often receiving no pay at all, the soldiers thought they were amply justified in indemnifying themselves by pillage; they treated, in this respect, those whom they professed to defend exactly as they did their enemies; and they rather reasonably asserted that they did not feel bound to observe the discipline established by a king who did not provide for their wants. In addition to this sad result, the wars of religion had also revived the science of tactics. When war consists of small skirmishes, battles on a diminutive

scale, surprises and *coups-de-main*, you may train excellent chiefs of partisans, but you can scarcely expect to have a general in the proper sense of the word. The ignorance of the science of war which prevailed in France during the early part of the seventeenth century has been noticed by several writers—Fontenay-Mareuil and Tallemant des Réaux, for example. "There was a time," says the latter, "when the only real generals were Marshal de Châtillon and Marshal de La Force; ignorance was so universal, that at the siege of Saint Jean d'Angély (1641) no one could be found who knew how to make a trench." This deficiency of commanders was soon and gloriously made up during the mighty war waged by Richelieu against the house of Austria.

In that branch of the administration, therefore, as in most of the others, everything had to be done, and Richelieu prepared the way for his successors. After the death of Henry IV. the resources of the State were exhausted; disciplined troops could no longer be collected together, the generals were incapacitated by old age and infirmities. The genius of one man sufficed for everything; he created armies, so to say, met all the various exigencies which war requires, and found commanders of unquestionable talent who distinguished themselves amongst the best generals of the seventeenth century:—Rohan, Créquy, D'Harcourt, Guébriant, Condé, and Turenne.

The suppression of the important dignity of

constable is one of Richelieu's attempts to put down the power of the aristocracy. In addition to lucrative privileges and a very high pay, the constable enjoyed, so far as the army was concerned, an authority superior to that of the king, or very nearly so. The office was done away with at the death of the Duke de Lesdiguières in 1627, and henceforward the marshals of France exercised in their own name the jurisdiction which they had been previously supposed to hold by virtue of a delegation from the constable.

The almost uninterrupted wars which Louis XIII. had to wage during his reign made it imperative for Richelieu to bring about reforms of every kind in the various branches of the military service: recruiting, victualling, paying, formation of the different regiments, ambulances and hospitals—there was no detail neglected, no want overlooked, and the result was the splendid army which won the victories of Rocroy, Lens, Turckheim, and Rheinfeld.

CHAPTER VII.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, THE JESUITS AND THE COLLÉGE DE FRANCE.—PHILOSOPHY AND ERUDITION.

The intellectual history of France under Richelieu's government is a subject full of real interest, and to do proper justice would require more space than we can afford; we shall therefore be satisfied with touching upon the principal points in connection with it. Let us glance, in the first place, at the state of education, and see what had become of the once famous University of Paris, which had, during the Middle Ages, enjoyed the privilege of attracting scholars from all parts of the civilized world.

The constitution of the University of Paris was totally different from that of other educational bodies both in England and on the Continent. To begin with, it was subdivided into four faculties, viz. arts (literature and science), theology, civil and canon law, medicine. The faculty of arts comprised four *nations*: the nation of *France*, including five *provinces* or *tribes;* the nation of *Picardy*, likewise divided into five *tribes;* the nation of *Normandy;* the

nation of *Germany*, divided into two *tribes*, (1) that of *continents*, subdivided into two provinces, and (2) that of the *insulars*, including the British Isles. The chief of the university was the rector; the four faculties combined elected him, and his tenure of office lasted three months. His installation took place with great pomp.

It would be both useless and endless to describe the innumerable colleges, the *ensemble* of which constituted the University of Paris. The *Sorbonne* was the principal, and it derived its name from Robert de Sorbon or Sorbonne (in Latin variously written *de Sorbonio*, *Sorbonia*, or *Seurbonna*), confessor of Saint Louis, and usually reported to have founded it; the great merit of the professors appointed to teach there, and the importance of the college in other respects, caused it to be regarded as the head-quarters of the university, and to it belonged the right of conferring degrees.

The Collége de Clermont must not be forgotten; it had been founded by the Jesuits on the 2nd of July, 1563, despite the spirited opposition of the university, and therefore, in the first instance, far from being one of the annexes or off-shoots of the Sorbonne, it was to all intents and purposes a rival establishment. Henry III. laid the first stone of the chapel on the 20th of April, 1582; it became affiliated to the University of Paris during the eighteenth century.

Collége des Grassins, Collége d'Harcourt, Collége du Mans, Collége de Bayeux, Collége de Torchi:—

the list is a very long one, and we are not surprised at hearing (Dubreuil, *Antiquités de Paris;* Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*) that on important occasions, when the university went to Saint-Denis as a body, the head of the procession entered the abbey when the last ranks were still in the church of Sainte Géneviève.

The "eldest daughter of the kings" in its palmy days had indeed a formidable power. It is no exaggeration to say that the left bank of the Seine in Paris was under the jurisdiction of the rector; he was bound to inspect all the colleges at least once a month; appeals against his decrees were decided in the court of Parliament; whenever the Pope's legate made in the metropolis a solemn entrance, the rector went to meet him, but awaited him *within* the walls, and received his oath never to alter or diminish the privileges granted by the Vatican to the University of Paris. In the public acts and ceremonies of the university, the rector always enjoyed precedence over the bishops, and even the cardinals and nuncios; if the king came to Paris *solemni modo*, the rector met him *outside* the walls, swore homage to him in the name of the university, and his majesty immediately confirmed the privileges granted to his "eldest daughter" by the kings his predecessors. Most of these glories, however, had now departed, and the others were very much reduced.

The religious wars of the sixteenth century had dealt to the university a terrible blow. In most

of the colleges both professors and pupils had disappeared; the classes and lecture-rooms had been suffered to go to ruin, or were transformed into stables; the few apartments which the landsknechts or reiters had left untouched were appropriated as lodgings by persons who had no connection whatever with the university or with education in general. Henry IV. was too wise not to feel the importance of providing for the intellectual wants of the country. The attempt at assassination made by Jean Châtel having led to the banishment of the Jesuits, those great educators, the king immediately called together a council of men known by their influence, their learning, and their experience, and entrusted to them the task of remodelling the University of Paris, and placing it on a durable foundation. Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges and High Almoner of France; Achille de Harlay, senior president of the Parliament; Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *president à mortier;* Lazare Coquelin and Edouard Molé, councillors in the *grand chambre;* Jacques de la Grelle, solicitor-general; and Louis Servin, advocate-general, formed this board, to which were subsequently added the police-lieutenant Seguier, and Faucon de Ris, senior president of the Parliament of Brittany. The first meeting of this council took place February 9, 1595, the report was completed in September, 1598, and the new statutes were presented to the four faculties on the 18th of September, 1600, by De Thou, Coquelin, and Molé.

The preliminary work being thus terminated, it remained to provide for its application, and a committee was accordingly named, one of the most active members of which was Edmond Richer, a well known theologian and an enthusiastic Gallican, who took the opportunity of cautioning his colleagues against the already much-talked-of re-establishment of the Jesuits, and entreated them to render the competition of the reverend fathers useless, by timely reforms and energetic action. The incident which Richer dreaded so much came to pass; the Jesuits received permission to reopen their establishments, and, thanks to the protection bestowed upon them by Richelieu, thanks also to their really superior system of education, they speedily drew around themselves the vast majority of the pupils. In vain did the university authorities, armed with law texts, edicts, and ordinances, endeavour to stem the torrent; they indeed gained nominal victories, but it was beyond their power to prevent the Jesuits from teaching; and as they could not then boast of educationists such as Rollin, Hersan, Coffin, they had to learn at their own cost that the days of routine were no more. Even allowing for the modifications introduced by the statutes of 1598, the university curriculum was lamentably deficient. The great discoveries of the fifteenth century, the Renaissance movement, and the struggles of the Reformation had opened fresh channels to the progress of the human mind, and the antiquated traditions of scholasticism could

not be expected to satisfy a generation whose fathers had listened to the teaching of Calvin, Theodore Beza, Ramus, Erasmus, L'Hôpital, and Pasquier, and who were themselves witnesses of a revolution accomplished in literature, philosophy, and science by men such as Corneille, Descartes, Galileo, Kepler, etc. The statutes of 1598 had, indeed, proscribed books written in mediæval Latin, and replaced them by Cicero, Virgil, Plato, Horace, Demosthenes, and Homer. But the course of instruction was still very limited in its extent: Latin and Greek grammar and the philosophy of Aristotle—nothing beyond this was deemed necessary or even advisable. Meanwhile, the Jesuits, understanding better the spirit of the age, allotted a large share in their scheme of training to history, the exact sciences, geography, recitation, music, drawing, and dancing. It was all very well to say, as the champions of the university did, that this system of education was superficial and frivolous; at any rate, it met the demands of the public, and in course of time the university understood that the best way of destroying the influence of the Jesuits was, not to fulminate edicts, injunctions, and decrees, but to meet them on their own ground, and, if possible, do better than they. It was in 1631 that the idea we are now mentioning suggested itself to the Sorbonne, and the results proved what might have been expected—most beneficial to the cause of public education.

Jealous of their privileges, and at the same time

so thoroughly wedded to a system of ultra-conservatism that they were gradually allowing all the youth of France to flock round more competent teachers, the university authorities found a formidable rival not only in the institution of the Jesuits, but in the celebrated *Collége royal* established by Francis I. at the suggestion of Buddæus. The king's plan had been to organize a body of professors or lecturers sufficiently well endowed to enable them to teach gratuitously, and who would be entirely independent of the Sorbonne. So long as the *lecteurs royaux* limited themselves to subjects which were not likely to be actively taken up by the majority of students, the Sorbonne doctors did not feel much anxiety; but the creation of a Latin lectureship in 1534 woke them up to a sense of their dangers, and from that time they endeavoured by every means in their power to ruin the Collége de France, either by showing that the privileges it enjoyed had been granted through a flagrant violation of the university rights and immunities, or by trying to bring about the fusion of the two teaching bodies, with the ultimate view of asserting their own supremacy, and absorbing, so to say, their powerful rivals. Several lawsuits arose out of this conflict, but the victory remained definitively with the Collége de France. Under the administration of Cardinal Richelieu several improvements were introduced into the rules and government of the college, and considerable progress was made with the buildings destined for the professors. Up

to the accession of Henry IV. they had, for want of a suitable *local*, been compelled to teach wherever they could, and it was only in 1609 that the king determined upon appropriating for the purpose of a set of lecture-rooms, library, etc., the grounds till then occupied by the colleges of Tréguier and Cambrai. A report on the subject was drawn up by four commissioners, viz. Cardinal du Perron, Sully, De Thou, and Gillot, a councillor in the Parliament of Paris. The king had further pledged himself to endow the college with a yearly income of 30,000 livres. The death of Henry IV. did not put a stop to the realization of the design, for on the 21st of August, 1610, the queen, Mary de' Medici, directed the works to be pushed on, and Louis XIII. on the same day laid the foundation-stone. The disturbances which took place during the minority of the king caused, however, first a slackening, then a complete cessation of the building, and it was only in 1634 that a fresh start was given. At the death of Richelieu one of the wings was finished, and Louis XIII. had further founded, besides, two additional lectureships, one on Arabic literature and one on canon law.

In the meanwhile alterations and reforms of a totally different nature and of a far graver character were taking place in the world of science and literature, which tended to prove that the Sorbonne was gradually losing its influence as a theological and metaphysical teacher, and that the human intellect was breaking the fetters which had for

so many years kept it strictly confined. We do not mean, of course, that Cardinal Richelieu originated those reforms, or even gave them his sanction, but they corresponded chronologically to his administration, and they took place during the reign of Louis XIII. Outwardly, as Mr. Demogeot very aptly remarks,* things appeared to be going on very much the same as they had done in days of yore. Scholasticism, applied to the solution of religious problems, seemingly reigned supreme; it was taught by the universities, defended by the Parliaments, and protected by princes and magistrates as a political institution. But the roots of the old tree were destroyed; a current of bold scepticism, derived from Erasmus, Rabelais, and Montaigne, and all the bolder in its essence because it was grave and measured in its expression, was penetrating the educated classes of society, preparing the way for the great revolution with which the name of Descartes is indissolubly connected. La Motte le Vayer, Gabriel Naudé, and Guy Patin may be regarded as the chief representatives of that movement, and deserve a brief mention here. When a thinker, having *à priori* no very settled convictions on any subject, finds himself launched on the sea of erudition, and lives amidst the treasures of an extensive library, it is very difficult for him to keep clear of the shoals of scepticism. Lost in the midst of a chaos of contradictory ideas, which he has neither

* *Histoire de la Littérature Française.*

time nor power enough to sift and to classify, by dint of listening to all the authors who claim his attention, he ends by believing no one. Like Montaigne, La Motte le Vayer had no doctrine; he took the necessary precaution of keeping on good terms with the established authorities both in Church and State, and prudently deemed that no opinion is worth running the risk of being burnt alive or sent to the gallows. Would it not have been far wiser for Giordano Bruno and Étienne Dolet to keep their crotchets to themselves, and to abstain from affirmations which gave a natural handle to inquisitor, judges, and executioners? "Pyrrhonians," he said, "are of all men those who most willingly and most freely submit to existing laws and institutions; they have never caused any disturbances." Born in 1588, La Motte le Vayer died in 1672, and the period of his greatest intellectual vigour corresponds, therefore, to Cardinal Richelieu's rule. Trained in the first instance to the law, he soon abandoned it for literature, and became member of a society of *savants* who used to assemble at the house of Montaigne's adopted daughter, Mademoiselle de Gournay. He was one of the earliest members of the Académie Française (1639), and his reputation as a writer induced the queen, Anne of Austria, to appoint him tutor to the Duke d'Anjou, afterwards Duke d'Orléans. He was so pre-eminently successful in that post, that he was later on (1652) entrusted with the case of finishing the education

of the Dauphin. He obtained the titles of historiographer royal and councillor of State. Moderate in his views and animated by the highest principles, says a distinguished critic,* La Motte le Vayer has been often, but most unjustly, accused of atheism. He was extremely witty, and at the same time had all the qualities of a thorough scholar. His reading was wonderful, and so judiciously conducted that it procured for him the designation of the French Plutarch or the French Seneca. The numerous quotations to be found in his books bear evidence to his prodigious memory. He combined with an accurate knowledge of antiquity a sufficient acquaintance with modern history and literature; his style is easy, brilliant, and lively; if he is inferior to Montaigne in point of originality, his erudition is quite equal to that of Bayle. Besides a number of educational publications, he wrote several works of a philosophical character; thus, *Considérations sur l'Éloquence Française* (1638); *De la Vertu des Païens* (1642); *Discours pour montrer que les Doutes de la Philosophie Sceptique sont d'un grand Usage dans les Sciences* (1668); *Du peu de Certitude qu'il y a dans l'Histoire* (1668). The titles of these last two books give a clue to the views of La Motte le Vayer on philosophy and metaphysics; he made no mystery of his scepticism, but he maintained that it was *la sceptique Chrétienne*, and that he only followed and illustrated the principles of the

* Christian Bartholmèss, *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques.*

gospel, which holds up to contempt the proud dogmatism of the so-called wise, and those vain sciences respecting which the apostle frightens us so much. We have only enumerated a few of our author's writings; they form in the best edition (Dresden, 1756-1759) fourteen octavo volumes, the best known of these compositions being entitled *Cinq Dialogues faits a l'imitation des anciens par Horatius Tubéron.* We cannot give here a complete analysis of this work, and we must be satisfied with a brief glance at its contents. The supposed Horatius Tubéron, imitating the Ciceronian style of conversation, deals, first, with the diversity and contradictions which exist in the opinions, manners, and customs of men. The second dialogue (*le Banquet Sceptique*) treats of everyday usages and the details of common life. In the third we have an eloquent praise of solitude, the lasting joys of which are more than a compensation for the pretended pleasures of society, and the useless and noisy occupations of the "madding crowd." The fourth, professing to be a praise of "the rare and eminent qualities of the asses of his time," reminds us of the "apologies," or fanciful panegyrics which have added so much to the reputation of Apuleius, Erasmus, Machiavel, and Giordano Bruno. The fifth and concluding dialogue treats of the various religions, and a general *résumé* of the whole work is contained in the following Spanish motto, which is very significant in its brevity:—

"De las cosas mas seguras,
La mas segura es dudar."

(Of all things which are most certain, the most certain is to doubt.)

The *dialogues* we have just been noticing are La Motte le Vayer's last work, and may therefore be regarded as the final and definitive expression of his views; he professes to have written them "as an ancient and heathen philosopher, for the exclusive perusal of philosophers, and not for the general public."

Gabriel Naudé must be next noticed (1600–1653). His life, like that of La Motte le Vayer, was spent amongst books, and he held in succession the post of librarian to President de Mesmes and to the Cardinals Bagni, Richelieu, and Mazarin. The principles of Pyrrhonism, as they leave nothing certain, and admit of no absolute, well-defined rule of right and wrong, are subversive of all morality, and this feature is apparent in Gabriel Naudé's writings more distinctly, perhaps, than in those of any of his contemporaries belonging to the same school of thought. Thus we find him, in his *Considérations Politiques sur les Coups d'État* (Rouen, 1639, 4to), recommending the theories of the most unblushing Machiavelism; all means, he asserts, are good for a statesman to encompass his ends—murder, poison, wholesale massacres; as a consequence, the dreadful episode of Saint Bartholomew's Day is openly extolled as a masterpiece of statecraft.

A man's view of politics, says M. Sainte-Beuve, depends on his ethical system. A politician is a man who undertakes to guide his fellow-creatures, and, according to the opinion he has of them, he will lead them in this direction or in that. La Rochefoucauld could not, for instance, but be of the school of Machiavel. When we are young, we form naturally a high estimation of mankind, we belong to the liberal side; as we grow older, bitter experience teaches us to moderate our enthusiasm, and to adopt a more severe and stern conception of government. Such was the case with Gabriel Naudé; he did not belong to that illustrious band of statesmen, such as Hotman, La Boétie, and Bodin, who, during the sixteenth century, anticipated, so to say, the generous doctrines of Montesquieu, Quesnay, and l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre; his immediate ancestor was Louis XI.; the famous aphorism *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare* was for him the maxim of all rulers, whether kings, emperors, or popes. He was residing in Italy, as the guest of Cardinal de Bagni, when he composed the book which, of all others, has done so much harm to his memory. For him, the authors who are constantly making long discourses about religion, clemency, justice, liberality, are mere rhetoricians; did not Charron say that the justice of a sovereign is not expected to move as warily as that of private individuals? Richelieu may have overstepped the limits of strict justice when he ordered Montmorency to be beheaded;

but the beheading of Montmorency is, perhaps, the reason why an honest *bourgeois* of the Rue Saint Denis could live quietly and happily at home. Such is the system of Gabriel Naudé. His amusing works reflect with great accuracy the feelings and opinions, nay, the events of the day; thus the *Apologie pour tous les Grands Personnages qui ont été faussement accusés de Magie* is a book which, published in 1625, between the tragic death of the Maréchale d'Ancre and that of Urbain Grandier, is extremely characteristic of the epoch. There was at that time throughout the length and breadth of France a kind of sorcery epidemic, which, stimulating the zeal of men such as Laffemas and Laubardemont, sent to the stake many an innocent person. Gabriel Naudé patiently sits down to show that Zoroaster, Orpheus, Numa, Pythagoras, Virgil, etc., were neither sorcerers nor magicians according to the usual sense of these words; but that they could be designated as *mages*, inasmuch as they were inspired by the highest wisdom.

Whenever Naudé's religious views are alluded to, great stress is laid upon a certain page where two characters introduced by him discuss the trite subject as to the possibility of any pernicious doctrine being derived from the Scriptures. Not from the Scriptures rightly understood, says one of the interlocutors, but for want of sticking to the interpretations which the Catholic Church gives to them, these sacred books have often been the cause of many disorders, so far as morality goes, as in

the Book of Kings and other parts of the Old Testament; and, to the same extent, so far as doctrine is concerned in the writings of the New Testament, where it is stated in a most puzzling manner, especially by Saint Paul. There is no doubt that, like Gassendi, La Motte le Vayer, and many other philosophers of the day, Gabriel Naudé was a free-thinker; in fact, we might mention a famous letter of Guy Patin, to whom we shall allude presently, showing that in private and convivial meetings with his friend, his satirical dispositions often brought him "quite close to the sanctuary," but his motto was:

Intus, ut libet; foris ut mos est.

And, accordingly, however freely he might think on the subject of religion, politics, and philosophy, he took good care in his relations with society to say nothing which might offend received opinions or excite suspicion. In addition to the *Considérations Politiques*, Gabriel Naudé published several other works, the most remarkable of which are: *Instruction à la France sur la Vérité de l'Histoire des Frères de la Rose-Croix* (Paris, 1623, 8vo); *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris, 1627, 8vo); and *Mascurat, ou Jugement de tout ce qui a été imprimé Contre le Cardinal Mazarin*, etc. (4to). This last production, written in the form of a dialogue, is an apology of Mazarin against the innumerable pamphlets published against him, but whilst giving the panegyric of the cardinal, Naudé con-

trives to speak freely *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*

Guy Patin completes this amusing and original trio—Guy Patin, the champion of antiquity, the fanatic worshipper of Hippocrates and Galen. He was one of the noisiest members of the Paris *Faculté de Médecine,* and, let us add, one of the most spiteful, as his persecution of the excellent and truly admirable Théophraste Renaudot sufficiently proves. The medical body in the metropolis was essentially at that time a "close borough," and any one venturing to infringe its dictates or to disregard its privileges was hunted down in the most disgraceful manner. When in the amusing scene of the *Malade Imaginaire,* the *præses* asks the candidate if he is prepared to swear

> Essere in omnibus
> Consultationibus
> Ancieni aviso
> Aut bono aut mauvaiso?

he merely puts a question, for which, if it had been answered in the negative, Guy Patin would certainly have "plucked" the wretched undergraduate. He was not of a precisely devout character, but his devotion to the old routine had no parallel. The theory of the circulation of the blood was not in Hippocrates; Galen knew nothing about chemistry, *ergo* Harvey's discovery was a fond delusion, and chemistry a useless piece of legerdemain. But the Arabs? . . . Well, the Arabs were mere charlatans, and it is no wonder that the

medical school of Montpellier, guilty of medical heresy, should support them. Guy Patin detested antimony because it was a chemical product, and he hated quinquina because its properties had been discovered by the Jesuits. Bleeding and senna were his sole remedies, and Boileau's line might have been applied to his patients—

"L'un meurt vide de sang, l'autre plein de séné."

He used to bleed children and old people almost as copiously as young men and women; he ordered himself to be bled seven times for a cold; he bled his mother-in-law, an old lady of eighty; a child of three days is seized with convulsions: "Quick! the lancet!" Madame Patin had to submit, as a dutiful wife; she was bled *eight* times in the arm and nearly as often in the foot. Whenever he has to describe one of his professional antagonists, he shows all the qualities of a good hater, and indulges in abuse so exaggerated that it misses its aim and becomes positively amusing. Here is an extract or two. "If M. Duruy knew only to lie and the circulation of the blood, he would know just two things, the former of which I hate, whilst I care nothing about the latter. . . . Doctor Bourdelot is another man of the same kind; he lies almost as often as he opens his mouth, and he deceives his patients also, whenever he can. He is a thorough courtier, he dances attendance upon the apothecaries, and is the humble servant of all the Arabic boasters; he is a frightful liar,

a gambler, and a rake." Guy Patin was certainly the most eccentric of the early seventeenth-century oddities; he deserves as such the foremost place in the front rank, by the side of Scudéry, Cyrano de Bergerac, Sorel and Saint Amand; his character is made up of contradictions, and would be worth studying for its own sake, even if the pugnacious doctor had not been mixed up with many of the disputes and controversies of his day. It is somewhat astonishing that a man of his nature, who held so loosely by all the opinions which were then current, and who affected so much independence of mind, should have been on medical doctrines a blind and unreasonable supporter of exploded absurdities, a conservative to the backbone. His hatred of Cardinal Mazarin was equalled only by his detestation of those whom he designated superciliously as the *circulateurs* and the champions of other anatomical and physiological truths, and he might have sat for M. Diafoirus, M. Purgon, and M. Fleurant, in Molière's plays. His wit and his powers of sarcasm were unparalleled; they drew around him a large circle of admirers, and the *grands seigneurs* of the day, who honoured him by an invitation to dinner, were wont to slip a louis d'or under his plate by way both of acknowledging his wit, and of encouraging him to further exploits. A well-known critic, Vigneul-Marville, says of Guy Patin that "he was satirical from head to foot. His hat, his collar, his cloak, his doublet, his hose, his boots—in fact, his whole costume was

a defiance to fashion, and a kind of protest against vanity. He had the appearance of a Cicero and the wit of Rabelais."

Patin's correspondence was published after his death, and, as it had never been intended to go beyond the persons to whom the several letters were addressed, it is an invaluable treasure of plain-spoken and sincere remarks on the events and characters of the day. It combines spite and wit, jokes and anecdotes, amusing remarks, and, too often, coarse descriptions, the whole being copiously interlarded with Latin quotations. This collection of letters, the best (though very imperfect) edition of which was published by M. Réveillé-Parise, in three octavo volumes (Paris, 1846), is, with the exception of a few unimportant essays and speeches, all that remains to us of the Rabelaisian doctor who succeeded to Riolan in the medical lectureship at the Collége de France.

There is no doubt that if La Motte le Vayer, Gabriel Naudé, and Guy Patin had thought proper to utter publicly their metaphysical and religious opinions, they would have been put to death; Giordano Bruno and Lucilio Vanini were sent to the stake for holding views not a whit bolder than those which we find in the "dialogues of Tuberon" and in the *Mascurat;* Campanella remained for the space of twenty-seven years in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and we all know what was the fate of the astronomer Galileo. Not only was penal legislation applied to cases of every kind,

it was also enforced with a degree of brutality which reminds us of the worst times of the Middle Ages. One fact, amongst a whole list of others, must be detailed here, because it serves to illustrate both the character of Richelieu's administration, and also the ignorance and superstition of the times. We mean the melancholy history of Urbain Grandier.

A canon of the church of Sainte-Croix at Loudun, in Poitou, this clergyman had the misfortune of being accused of having published a political pamphlet against Richelieu. Now, this was one of the offences which the cardinal never forgave. Under the title *La Cordonnière de Loudun*, a lampoon had been circulated during the time of the new prime minister's quarrels with the queen dowager, Mary de' Medici; it was hardly supposed then that Richelieu would ever reach the extraordinary power he subsequently enjoyed, and every one believed that the temporary interest excited by the *Cordonnière* had entirely disappeared. Urbain Grandier, however, had contrived, in addition to this offence, to excite against himself influential and bitter enemies; his superior talents inspired with jealousy the clergy of Loudun, his powers of sarcasm imprudently exercised against those who had incurred his displeasure were never forgotten by his victims; in short, he had to pay the penalty of unexampled popularity. He was remarkably good-looking, hence serious charges which affected his moral character; and although ultimately found innocent, yet he remained under a shadow of suspicion.

At that time Laubardemont, one of Richelieu's agents, arrived in Loudun for the purpose of seeing that the fortifications erected by the Huguenots were duly and completely destroyed. Received with great pomp by the inhabitants of the town, and sumptuously entertained by the municipal authorities, Laubardemont frequently heard the name of Urbain Grandier mentioned, and discovered, on inquiry, that he was the reputed author of the once famous pamphlet *La Cordonnière de Loudun*. He saw at once in that circumstance an excellent opportunity of ingratiating himself with the cardinal, and Richelieu was immediately informed that Urbain Grandier, a lax clergyman, generally supposed to be a great favourite with the ladies, held likewise very unsound opinions about the *cardinal-ministre*.

Just then a report spread abroad that extraordinary things were occurring within the walls of an Ursuline convent, which, till that time, had not attracted public notice. Strange noises were heard at night, shrieks and sobs interrupted the usual quiet of the place, apparitions were seen, and finally it was solemnly and seriously asserted that the nuns, through the means of Urbain Grandier, had become possessed of the devil. Richelieu, hearing of this, saw what advantage it gave him to get rid of the obnoxious pamphlet-writer, and he ordered a searching investigation to be made of the case connected with the Ursuline nuns. A long and wearisome trial took place, most unjustly

conducted, and with the evidently deliberate purpose of sentencing to death the unfortunate Grandier. The most futile charges were made, and the most absurd depositions taken as conclusive; the enemies of the accused were glad to remove him out of the way; finally he was declared guilty of magic and sorcery on the 18th of August, 1634, and was sentenced to be burnt alive.

Laubardemont has earned an unenviable notoriety by his blind devotedness to Richelieu, and by the scandalous animosity he displayed in the course of Urbain Grandier's trial. "That Jean Martin de Laubardemont," says the genealogist D'Hozier, "is the unjust judge whom the late Cardinal Richelieu appointed to try the unfortunate Urbain Grandier and condemn him to be burnt alive under the horrible pretext that he was a sorcerer, and that he had corrupted the nuns of Loudun, but really because he looked upon him as the author of a satirical pamphlet on the cardinal's birth." Efforts had been made by various persons in the beginning of the year 1634, to have the case tried again, but Laubardemont and Richelieu would not tolerate this course, and on the 31st of May, in the same year, an order appeared expressly prohibiting the Parliament and all the other courts in the kingdom from further interference in the case, and the defendants from appealing, under penalty of a fine of five hundred livres. Laubardemont, it is well known, kept Richelieu *au courant* of the various incidents in the trial, and the day after the execu-

tion he wrote to the cardinal a letter which has been handed down to us, and which the reader will find printed in the *Biographie Universelle*.* After the most absurd and fulsome eulogies addressed to Richelieu on his religious zeal, and more especially his success in the conversion of the Huguenots, Laubardemont goes on to say—

"Knowing the greatness of your Eminence, so far as I can venture to do so in my low estate, I have taken as my aim the restoration to the Church of all the heretics in this kingdom; after the sight of the manifest miracles which you have accomplished, they will need only the command of the sovereign to return to the bosom of their mother, whose arms are always open to receive them. But what! My lord, I venture perhaps too far, and beyond the terms of my commission; be pleased to forgive my zeal and the ardent desire I have for your glory; you give us every day fresh cause to admire your virtue, and I cannot help putting up my personal prayers to Heaven for the success of your administration. If it is agreeable to you, my lord, that I should speak of the present case, I shall tell your Eminence that we have lived here in great order and quiet, and with such union that it seemed as if we were all animated by the same spirit. In all these matters we have been of one opinion, and even when the sentence had to be given, it passed unanimously; each of these fourteen gentlemen stated his reasons with so much

* *Sub voc.* "Laubardemont."

cogency that nothing was said on that occasion which would not have been worth your hearing. Nay, the Lieutenant-general of Chinon has proved to us by this action that he possesses qualities far above the ordinary strength of his youth. He is, I assure you, my lord, a most worthy subject, and fully deserves to be nominated to some high office which may bring him near the king and your Eminence."

This letter, of which we have only quoted the latter half, is particularly interesting as an example both of Laubardemont's servility and of the style in which Richelieu was addressed by his agents, the Laffemases, the Séguiers, etc., etc., insolent and bullying towards their master's victims, fawning in their conduct towards the master himself. Grandier suffered his punishment with the most unflinching courage, and his death now remains on record as a monument, not only of Richelieu's spite, but also of the superstition which, in a comparatively enlightened age, still prevailed amongst the intellectual classes of society.

It seems perfectly clear that the nuns of Loudun were the victims of a kind of hysteria similar to that which seized upon the *Convulsionnaires* who, one hundred years later, brought such discredit upon the cause of Jansenism. Some authors have asserted that the whole of this melancholy episode was a mere comedy, based upon the grossest lies, and the object of which was to satisfy the animosity of Cardinal Richelieu. We cannot accept this ex-

planation. The minister, no doubt, took advantage of an incident which chance placed in his way, but that was all. Grandier's death is not the only event of the kind which the seventeenth century has on record; before him, a priest of the name of Gaufridi had met with the same fate, and no political motive, in his case, could be brought forth as a justification or an explication. After the catastrophe we have just been relating similar scenes of hysteria occurred at Chinon; two priests, Santerre and Giloire, were suspected of witchcraft, and they narrowly escaped being sent to the stake.*

One fact is placed beyond demonstration, namely, that Urbain Grandier's chief persecutors died in the most tragic manner shortly after the condemnation of their victim. A Capuchin friar named Lactance, who had with his own hand set fire to the funeral pile, was seized with an attack of demonopathy within the month, and died on the 18th of September. A surgeon, of the name of Mannourri, had likewise been very instrumental in Grandier's tortures; one evening, as he was returning from seeing a patient, he was suddenly struck by a kind of hallucination which made him believe that the ghost of the unfortunate victim stood before him. It was with some difficulty that his friends took him home, and a few days afterwards he expressed himself fully persuaded that the apparition was haunting him wherever he went.

* On all this see M. Figuier's *Histoire du Merveilleux dans les Temps modernes*, vol. i.

As for Laubardemont, we cannot do better than translate the following letter by Guy Patin:—

"On the 9th of this month, at nine o'clock in the evening, a carriage was attacked by thieves. The noise accompanying the assault made the *bourgeois* come out of their houses, excited as much by curiosity as by charity. Shots were exchanged; one of the thieves was knocked down, and a servant belonging to their party arrested; the others took to flight. The wounded man died the next day, without saying a word, without complaining, and without declaring who he was. He has at last been identified. It is known that he was the son of a *maître des requêtes*, named Laubardemont, who condemned to death, in 1634, the poor *curé* of Loudun, Urbain Grandier, and had him burned alive, under the pretext that he caused the devil to enter into the bodies of the Loudun nuns. Those poor women were taught to dance in order that fools might be persuaded that they were really possessed. Is this not a punishment from Heaven sent into the family of that wicked judge, as a kind of expiation for the cruel and merciless death of the poor priest whose blood calls for vengeance from above?" *

Laubardemont himself, although promoted by Richelieu to important offices, was so universally despised, that after his patron's death he sank into obscurity, and died forgotten in 1653.

It was high time that a vigorous attempt should

* Guy Patin, letter xvii.

be made both to clear away the last vestiges of mediæval philosophy, and also to raise a powerful barrier against the encroachments of scepticism. To have accomplished this desirable result was the glory of René Descartes (1596–1650), and it is not too much to say that he is by far the most illustrious man of the Richelieu era. Instead of living amongst books like La Motte le Vayer, and Gabriel Naudé, he communed with his own thoughts, and preferred solitude to the distracting vicissitudes of an active life. Not indeed that he had always secluded himself from the society of his fellow-creatures, or refused to play his part in the stirring scenes of the early seventeenth century, for we find him completing his imperfect education by travels in foreign climes, and serving as a soldier, first in Germany under Maurice of Nassau and the Duke of Bavaria, and then at the siege of La Rochelle; but when he had once directed his attention to the obscure question of metaphysics, he saw the absolute necessity of avoiding the conflicts of public opinion, and of not allowing himself to be biased by the numerous systems which outbid one another for popularity. Both in philosophy and in literature, Descartes was essentially a reformer. As a mere writer he deserves to be noticed because he composed in *French,* and not in Latin, his principal work, the *Discours de la Méthode* (Leyden, 1637). He felt conscious both of the importance of the task he had undertaken, and of the influence it was destined to exercise; he addressed himself, not

to the comparatively small circle of scholars, but to the larger audience of readers whose only pretensions were that they possessed the gift of common sense, the quality, he remarks, "which is the most fairly divided and the most naturally equal amongst all men." He adds farther on, "If I write in French, which is the language of my native country, rather than in Latin, which is that of my teachers, it is because I hope that those persons who make use solely of their natural reason will appreciate better my opinions than those who pin their faith to ancient books."

The reform introduced by Descartes in the sphere of philosophy cannot be overrated. It is contained in a short work, the *Discours de la Méthode*, of which it may truly be said that never were there such important and cardinal truths comprised within such little space. The simplicity of the *Discours* is wonderful; it consists of six parts or divisions, the inter-connection of which is explained in a preface of fifteen lines. The three first parts, after having shown the necessity of a new method in the teaching of philosophy, state the rules of that method. "Never to receive a thing for certain unless I have evidently found it to be so," such is the fundamental precept of Cartesianism, nay, of all science, henceforward, and of all philosophy. The next three parts show the applications of the Cartesian method both to metaphysics, the keystone to which is the immortal axiom, "*Cogito, ergo sum*," and to all the sciences the object of which is the study of man and of nature.

We cannot of course attempt here to investigate the system of Descartes, or to give any detailed idea of the controversies it has suggested. Let us just quote a short paragraph describing very fairly, on the whole, the starting-point adopted by the great French thinker, and also the principal defects which characterize it.

"The discourse of method . . . proposes to find a simple and indecomposable point, or absolute element, which gives to the world and thought their order and systematization. The grandeur of this attempt is perhaps unequalled in the annals of philosophy. The three main steps in the argument are the veracity of our thought when that thought is true to itself, the inevitable uprising of thought from its fragmentary aspects in our habitual consciousness to the infinite and perfect existence which God is, and the ultimate reduction of the material universe to extension and local movement. These are the central dogmas of logic, metaphysics, and physics, from which start the subsequent inquiries of Locke, Leibnitz, and Newton. They are also the direct antitheses to the scepticism of Montaigne and Pascal, to the materialism of Gassendi and Hobbes, and to the superstitious anthropomorphism which defaced the awaking sciences of nature. Descartes laid down the lines on which modern philosophy and science were to build. But himself no trained metaphysician, and unsusceptible to the lessons of history, he gives but fragments of a system, which are held

together, not by their intrinsic consistency, but by the vigour of his personal conviction transcending the weaknesses and collisions of his several arguments." *

Cartesianism excited in France an amount both of enthusiasm and of antagonism which has seldom fallen to the lot of any system of philosophy. "As soon as it appeared," says M. Cousin,† "it eclipsed all the attempts made up to that time to create a metaphysical doctrine really capable of supplanting scholasticism. The efforts of Vanini, Campanella, Ramus, Montaigne, remarkable as they were, may be regarded as the outposts skirmishes which precede the general action, or as a kind of guerilla warfare to be followed by a more serious engagement. All discussions on metaphysical topics date from the publication of the *Discours de la Méthode*; between the date of 1637 and the end of the century there was not one work treating of philosophy which was not either for or against Descartes."

It is only fair to add that the state of society during the administration of Cardinal Richelieu was singularly favourable to serious studies and intellectual pursuits. In the previous chapters we have had to dwell upon the foibles of the French aristocracy, and the dangers it created to the Government; but we must not suppose that all the *gentilshommes* were of the same calibre as Bouteville or Des Chapelles. We might name many who not

* Dr. Wallace, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† *Fragments de Philosophie Cartésienne*.

only protected literary men, but cultivated literature and science on their own account. Thus the Duke de Luynes, son of the favourite of Louis XIII., was one of Descartes's earliest and warmest patrons; he translated the *Meditations* into French, and made of his château at Dampierre the centre of the first Cartesian academy. The magistracy, too, accustomed as it was to scholarship and to the discussion of abstruse topics, took the keenest interest in literary and scientific discussions: we need only mention Peiresc, councillor at the Parliament of Aix, Fermat and Carcavi, who held the same post at Toulouse. It is hardly necessary to add that the clergy, both secular and regular, were deeply concerned in the destinies of Cartesianism. Philosophy and theology are two sciences intimately connected together, and although the bonds which had united them during the Middle Ages were now beginning to get loose, yet novators such as the author of the *Discours de la Méthode* had to keep on terms of peace, or at the least of armed neutrality, both with the University of Paris and the Congregation of the Index. The Jesuits perceiving very well the consequences of the new system, brought all their influence to bear against it; the Oratorians took the other side, and even suffered persecution as disciples of Descartes.

It is curious to find the Paris *salons* transformed into arenas where metaphysical questions were freely discussed, and where what La Fontaine calls a *philosophie engageante et hardie* recruited eager

and animated champions. Madame de Sévigné herself did not care much about metaphysics, but she became a Cartesian for the sake of her daughter, Madame de Grignon, whom she wished to keep *au courant* of all that was going on in the fashionable world. Her letters are full of amusing allusions to some of the most salient points of the Cartesian philosophy; thus in one of them she says, "I think, therefore I am (*cogito, ergo sum*); I think of you with tenderness, therefore I love you." Descartes, it is well known, deprives objects of their colour, and places these colours in the soul; Madame de Sévigné accordingly says, "Everything being duly considered, your soul must be green." Like La Fontaine, she laughs at the idea by virtue of which the brute creation are nothing but machines, and would not admit that her favourite dog, Marphyse, had no soul.

Madame de Sévigné takes us somewhat beyond the reign of Louis XIII., but from what she says, and from what we know also about the Marchioness de Sablé, another *précieuse* of the same epoch, it is quite clear that the Cartesian mania broke out very shortly after the publication of the *Discours de la Méthode*. In his witty satire entitled *Voyage au Monde de Descartes*, the Jesuit Daniel introduces Aristotle, saying to the French philosopher that the fashion of discussing metaphysics will not last more amongst French ladies than any other caprice, and that there is nothing more common in fashionable *ruelles* than to hear parallels drawn between

M. d'Ypres (Jansenius) and Molina, Aristotle and Descartes.

We shall not attempt to name all the adversaries who stood up to refute the new philosophy, but we must make an exception in favour of Gassendi, who, besides being the most distinguished philosopher of the time, was also the intellectual father (if we may use such an expression) of La Motte le Vayer, Naudé, Guy Patin, Molière, etc., etc. Gassendi is quite as much an opponent of scholasticism as Descartes: he shares to the full his views on freedom of thought; but there the agreement ceases. In physics Gassendi stands up for vacuum and for atoms; in metaphysics he is a decided sensationalist, even to materialism. Having received a copy of the *Discours de la Méthode* and of the *Meditations* with a request to examine them, he did so, and communicated his *objections* to Descartes himself, who returned them to him together with a reply where he displayed a lamentable bitterness of temper. Gassendi added a series of *instances* to his previous critiques, and had them printed in Holland, by a friend and fellow-philosopher, Sorbière. Descartes answered again in a far worse tone than before; he assumed airs of superiority and of haughtiness utterly unbecoming, especially towards a scholar who was much his senior in point of age, and who by his character, his modesty, and his sincere piety, deserved to be treated with consideration. He affected to address his letter to his

publisher Clerselier. On several points he maintained a scornful silence; on most others he satisfied himself with giving out affirmations of the most trenchant description, but utterly unsupported by proofs. Hence a period of estrangement between Gassendi and Descartes, who had previously been on terms of friendship with each other: at last Cardinal d'Estrées contrived to bring about a reconciliation.*

The reader will perceive, in whatever direction he turns his eyes, that French society was endeavouring to establish itself upon an entirely new basis. Richelieu had, whilst adhering to the foreign policy of Henry IV., completely altered the system of government at home. He was a thorough revolutionist, and had applied to the creation of an absolute monarchy the very means which two centuries later the friends of Robespierre were destined to use for the purpose of introducing democratic institutions. Reform in the army, reform in the navy, reform in the magistracy, and, as we shall see presently, reform in literature, where there was certainly more need of a renovation than of half-measures, which produce no good and seem to be only a compromise. Mediævalism and mediæval institutions had done their work, and something new was wanted. Reform was the watch-cry, not only in philosophy, but in every branch of human learning, nay, we had almost

* See M. Francisque Bouillier's *Histoire de la Philosophie Cartésienne.*

said of human life. We have already noticed the efforts made by De Bérulle, Saint-Cyran, and others within the bosom of the Gallican Church; the Benedictine scheme has been reserved for this chapter, because although it affected the constitution and discipline of that celebrated community, yet its principal results were connected with the progress of erudition and historical science. The reform of the Benedictine monasteries had begun in 1600 at Saint Vannes, in the city of Verdun, which did not at that time belong to France; it had been attended with such success that the French members of the order determined upon following in the same direction, and, further, of establishing a distinct community totally independent of that of Lorraine. Such was the origin of the famous *Congrégation de Saint Maur*, the annals of which are all so closely associated with the literature of France during the seventeenth century; erected by a brief of Pope Gregory XV., it was confirmed in 1627 by a bull of Urban VIII.

The most active agent in the foundation of the French Benedictine society was Dom Grégoire Tarisse, a monk equally distinguished by his learning and his piety. He had been appointed by Cardinal Richelieu as one of his spiritual advisers (*membre de son conseil de conscience*), and he justified in every way the confidence with which the prime minister honoured him. Under his direction a powerful impulse was given to theological and patristic studies; editions of the fathers

were prepared, manuscripts collected together from various quarters, and the library of the abbey of Saint Germain Des Prés, arranged, completed, and catalogued, soon became one of the finest in the kingdom. Dom Tarisse it was who conceived the plan and drew out the scheme of the *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, a work which was to immortalize the name of Dom Mabillon (Paris, 1703–1739, six vols. fo.). Most of the important publications undertaken by the French Benedictines were brought out during the reign of Louis XIV., it is true, but we must not forget that the reform of the order and the earliest attempts made by the monks in the paths of literature were due to Richelieu's initiative, and Dom Luc d'Achery, the first librarian of the abbey of Saint Germain Des Prés, belongs strictly to the epoch we are considering. Notwithstanding all the drawbacks of weak health and of a delicate constitution, he did an amount of editorial and critical work which would amaze modern scholars, and he lived long enough to assist Mabillon in preparing the materials of the *annales* we have just named.

Students belonging to all countries and all religious denominations have joined in bearing witness to the powerful impulse given by the *Congrégation de Saint Maur* to solid learning. Their acquaintance with the treasures of antiquity, and their sincerity, often brought them into trouble with other religious orders, who, less enlightened than themselves, preferred traditional absurdities

to the interests of truth; thus it is well known that Mabillon's rejection of apocryphal saints and of legendary stories was the source of a serious controversy, and that he gave mortal offence by proving that many of the remains exhumed in the catacombs at Rome and venerated as relics of departed saints were probably nothing else but heathen rubbish. He also entered upon a dispute with the celebrated Abbé de Rancé, who maintained that monks should be engaged merely upon manual labour (*Traité des études Monastiques*, Paris, 1691, 4to.).

Finally, we have no hesitation in saying that the creation of the French Benedictine community is one of the most useful acts of Richelieu's administration.

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERATURE.

LITERATURE had undergone already a substantial reform at the hands of Malherbe. After the eccentricities of the school of Ronsard, and the absurd attempts made by the members of the Pleiad (§) to deprive the French language of its national character, a reaction was inevitable, and it was conducted with a great deal of tact and of good sense by the poet whom its detractors affected to style *le tyran des mots et des syllabes*.

"Enfin Malherbe vint . . ."

says Boileau, and there is no doubt that Malherbe's influence over the grammar and the structure of the language was of the most beneficial description. Unfortunately, his genius was not equal to his critical talent; he had neither imagination nor fancy, and candidates for literary fame thought that he did not make sufficient allowance for these two last qualities. The vicissitudes of war, political marriages, and other circumstances had brought about frequent intercourse between France on the

one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. The literary masterpieces of these two countries had found their way to Paris across the Pyrenees and the Alps, and the question soon suggested itself to the *habitués* of fashionable drawing-rooms whether the high-sounding phrases of Lope de Vega and Diamante on the one side, and the *concetti* of the cavalier Marino (§) on the other, were not superior to the stilted productions of Malherbe. Hence two schools of writers in France, corresponding with the reign of Louis XIII., the one represented by Voiture, and the other by Balzac; both rose to immediate popularity from totally different causes, and became the idols of the Paris *salons*, or of the assemblies corresponding to what we should now call *salons*.

After the end of the wars of religion, and when French society had settled down into the enjoyment of refined and intellectual pleasures, a number of fashionable centres were formed, presided over by ladies of taste and fashion, all equally characterized by the love of literature, but differing from each other in their minor features, according to the special disposition of the mistress of the house.

Before inquiring into the subjects of the conversations and discussions carried on in these *réunions*, let us endeavour to form some idea of the part of Paris where fashion and wit used to assemble. During the last century the Faubourg Saint Germain was the great centre; now the Champs-Élysées and its neighbourhood holds the sway; two

hundred years ago no one who had any feeling of self-respect would have dreamed of residing elsewhere than in the Ile Saint Louis or the Place Royale—the Place Royale especially.

"When you entered that square," says Viscount d'Avenel, "by its real approach, the Rue Royale, near the Rue Saint Antoine, you found on the right-hand side the Hôtel de Rohan, on the left the Hôtel de Chaulnes, the splendid apartments of which have been celebrated by Boisrobert, and which has since become the property of the Nicolaï family. At the angles, near the Rue des Tournelles, stood the Hôtels de Saint-Géran, de Nouveau (now used as a *mairie*, town-hall), the hotel of the Countess de Maure, and that of the Marchioness de Sablé. Further on lived President de Lescalopier, in a house which has until quite recently belonged to the family of its original owners. The square consisted of thirty-seven pavilions supported by a covered gallery. Several acts of Corneille's *Menteur* and of his *Place Royale* allude to the conversations which took place under the arcades.* In the former of these plays, Cliton, Dorante's servant, familiar with Parisian usages, speaking of a lady, says—

'Elle loge *à la Place*, et son nom est Lucrèce.'

That would be quite sufficient, under the reign of Louis XIII., to designate *la Place Royale*, just as when we say now *le Bois* it means exclusively *le*

* Richelieu, vol. ii. p. 53, 54.

bois de Boulogne. Scarron, a few years later on, said—

'Adieu, belle place où n'habite
Que mainte personne d'élite.'

'It is probably in the Place Royale,' says M. Cousin, 'that Descartes, chatting with Pascal, suggested to him his fine experiments on the atmosphere; there also De Thou, on leaving Madame de Guémené's *salon*, received from Cinq-Mars the information about the conspiracy which was to bring him to the scaffold.' " *

During the reign of Louis XIII. several *salons* enjoyed successively the patronage of the fashionable world. They owed their popularity to the courtesy and accomplishments of the master and mistress of the house, the refined manners they encouraged and of which they set the example, the tone of the conversations, and the character of the guests—all these circumstances helped to establish that popularity and to make it lasting. Marshal Bassompierre was amongst the first to have *at homes* of that kind. His house was the *rendezvous* of the "seventeen noblemen" (*dix-sept seigneurs*); "nothing was more agreeable than the decent freedom which prevailed there. No ceremony whatever; every one sat down where he happened to be; and those who came in the latest took their place at the table, although the others had been there long before. As the guests came in without saying 'good day,' so they left without saying

* *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

'good-bye;' some soon, some late, according to their business." *

Fifteen years afterwards, the Duchess de Bohan's *réunions* took the place of Bassompierre's. She allowed exactly the same liberty; in fact, if we may believe Tallemant des Réaux, she contributed in no slight degree to make young men lose the respect formerly paid to ladies; for, in order to draw them into her *coterie*, she allowed them to take every kind of liberty. Montglat talks of the *Messieurs du Marais* (name given to the part of Paris where the Place Royale is situated) who used to assemble every evening at the house of Madame de Rohan. Cinq-Mars belonged to that society, and preferred it to the Louvre. The Countess de Soissons had her *levées* at the Hôtel de Créqui; the Princess de Condé held hers at the Hôtel de Ventadour. There was a great rivalry between these two groups; the *habitués* of the one would scarcely condescend to notice those of the other, and, to use a military expression, kept on terms of armed neutrality.

History, however, has forgotten the *Dix-sept Seigneurs*, the *Messieurs du Marais*, and the other centres of more fashionable life, and has immortalized merely the *salons* where literature was cultivated—those, we mean, of Madame de Rambouillet and of Mademoiselle de Scudéry. Had it not been for them, the *précieux* style would never have remained so long and so much in repute; we

* Arnauld d'Andilly, *Mémoires*.

should not have seen springing up, not only in Paris, but from one end of France to the other, those innumerable societies, humble and unpretending on the one hand, ambitious and refined on the other, which contributed in a remarkable manner to spread, even in the lowest classes of the *bourgeoisie*, a taste for intellectual pursuits. It is true that exaggeration and affectation were one of the results of this movement, but we find here only an additional evidence of the genuine good which such societies produced, and we must always remember that what is really worthless does not often run the chance of being caricatured.

Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Samedis* have had due honour paid to them by M. Victor Cousin * and M. Sainte-Beuve; † there might be found Madame Cornuel, Madame de Sévigné, Conrart, Ménage, Pellisson, etc., etc.; there was planned and designed the famous *Carte du Tendre*, in which the vocabulary of love was made to sound like the articles of a gazetteer; there the various *habitués*, assuming names borrowed from classical antiquity, paraded about their high-flown language under the protection of Greek and Latin designations. Mademoiselle de Scudéry herself was *Sappho* (*l'illustre Sappho* or *la Dixième Muse*); Sarrazin, *Polyander;* Conrart, *Théodamas;* Pellisson, *Acanthe*, or *the Chronicler*, because he was the secretary of the society; the Duke de Saint Aignan became

* *La Société Française au XVII^e. Siècle.*

† *Causeries du Lundi*, iv.

Artaban; M. de Raincy, *Agathyrse;* and Ysarn, *Zenocrates.* Conrart has preserved the account of one of those *Samedis.* He had offered to the fair hostess a signet made of crystal, together with a madrigal of his own composition; she answered by another madrigal, and all the other persons present, fired with enthusiasm, followed suit. The day was called *la Journée des Madrigaux.* (§)

The most notable of these *réunions* was held at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, in that famous *salon bleu* where round the Marchioness de Rambouillet assembled the bevy of *précieux* and *précieuses.* It is unfortunate that for the great majority of readers the guests of the *incomparable Arthénice* (§) should be associated with the Philaminte and the Bélise of the *Femmes savantes* or the Cathos and the Madelon of the *Précieuses Ridicules;* but if the blue-stockings of those days were not sparing enough in their use of metaphors, it cannot be denied that they did excellent service as reformers of the French language, and Somaize's *Grand Dictionnaire des Précieuses* is an invaluable source of information respecting the origin of many expressions which have retained their place in the French vocabulary. How often, for instance, do we say of a person who keeps low company, "*Cet homme s'encanaille*"? and yet this expression at the time when it was first used was considered as perfectly ridiculous. In Molière's *Critique de l'École des Femmes* we find the following curious dialogue:

—"*Climène.*—Il est vrai que le goût des gens est étrangement gâté là-dessus, et que le siècle s'encanaille furieusement. *Élise.*—Celui-là est joli encore : *s'encanaille !* Est-ce vous qui l'avez inventé, madame ? *Climène.*—Hé ! *Élise.*—Je m'en suis bien doutée." A large number of words and phrases shared the fate of *s'encanailler*. Denounced at first, as affected and unnatural, they gradually obtained, so to say, their rights of citizenship. "*N'avoir que le masque de la vertu,*" "*être sobre dans ses discours,*" "*tenir bureau d'esprit,*" and many other expressions which we might quote, are of like origin, and must not be flung aside on the plea that when Mademoiselle de Scudéry wanted the servant to snuff a candle, she exclaimed, "*Inutile ! retranchez le superflu de cet ardent !*"

Literary and social gatherings speedily multiplied in Paris. At the Hôtel de Condé, at the Palais Cardinal, the merits of a sonnet, a madrigal, or an epigram were laboriously discussed ; at the Luxembourg, Mademoiselle de Montpensier and her guests, anticipating upon La Bruyère and Vauvenargues, delighted in writing *characters* or portraits of each other ; Madame de Sablé's *salon* was frequented by the Jansenists of Port-Royal. Ménage, ridiculed by Molèire under the name of Vadius, tried to give to his *mercuriales* (Wednesday *réunions*) an air of sprightliness and wit which were not the usual features of his character. But if the Hôtel de Rambouillet stood *facile princeps* at the head of the aristocratic drawing-rooms, the *salon* of Made-

moiselle de Scudéry easily carried off the palm amongst those which represented the intellectual and cultivated *bourgeoisie*. The illustrious Sappho, as she was called, has often, and deservedly perhaps, been the butt of satire on account of her long-winded romances; but we must remember that our point of view cannot be the same as that occupied by the critics two centuries ago, and making every allowance for the tediousness of *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Clélie, histoire Romaine*, the lady who numbered amongst her supporters persons such as Madame de Sévigné, La Fontaine, Huet, Fléchier, Bossuet, the Duke de Montausier, must have had some literary merit to justify her popularity.

We cannot help giving one brief paragraph to the brother of the famous Madeleine, Georges, who was the braggadocio of seventeenth century literature, who would have run a critic through with his rapier, and felt that by so doing he was merely avenging the dignity of his profession. Boileau's appreciation of him is well-known:

> "Bienheureux Scudéry dont la fertile plume
> Peut tous les mois sans peine enfanter un volume;
> Tes écrits, il est vrai, sans art et languissants,
> Semblent être formés en dépit du bon sens;
> Mais ils trouvent pourtant, quoi qu'on en puisse dire,
> Un marchand pour les vendre, et des sots pour les lire."

His most celebrated works are his tragedies *Lygdamon* (1629), *L'Amour Tyrannique* (1638), and an epic poem *Alaric*, where a few felicitous

couplets disappear under the influence of surrounding absurdities.

The share which the Hôtel de Rambouillet had in reforming and enriching French literature has been variously estimated; whilst Viscount d'Avenel is rather inclined to depreciate it, M. Rœderer (*Histoire de la Société polie*) falls, we believe, into the opposite exaggeration; the truth, as usual, is to be found midway. If this celebrated *salon* had had only the result of introducing to the *noblesse* the aristocracy which results from genius and talent, it would deserve a distinguished place in the annals of *belles-lettres;* we are told that the apparition of Voiture's sonnet on *Job*, and Benserade's on *Uranie* was an event quite as important as the battles of Lens and of Rocroy; and this fact alone shows to what dignity the position of a man of letters had risen then. We must not forget, too, that the real *Précieux* and *Précieuses* were not those whom Molière dragged on the stage in his amusing comedy; and this is so true that when the *Précieuses ridicules* appeared on the stage for the first time, the whole of the *habitués* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet went to see the performance, and were the loudest in cheering the author. (§) Madame de Sévigné herself used to boast of the title, (§) feeling conscious that Molière's satire could only be levelled at clumsy and pedantic imitators.

All the intellectual centres we have just enumerated were governed by the laws of the strictest propriety; although gentlemen were permitted to

act the *inamorato's* part, and to be thoroughly acquainted with Mademoiselle de Scudéry's famous *Carte du Tendre*, yet their passion must be of the purest and most platonic kind possible; in fact, the coarseness and the licentiousness of the sixteenth century had brought about a reaction verging upon the grotesque. This hardly suited a society of young men such as Saint Amant, Theophile de Viaud, Faret, who like their intellectual forefathers, Villon, Régnier, etc., were fonder of epicureanism than of sentiment. So, as a sort of protest against the *collet-monté* style of the *chambre bleue* and of Sappho's Saturdays, *cabarets d'honneur* were opened for the benefit of the Bohemians of literature, and there poems were read and drinking songs composed which, if not generally distinguished by refinement, frequently contained a sparkling couplet or two, a touching passage and a delicate thought neatly expressed. Thus Villon's "*mais où sont les neiges d'antan :*" finds its counterpart in Saint Amant's lines :

> "Les épais promenoirs de ces vertes allées
> Où tant d'afflictions ont été consolées."

We have thus attempted to give a slight idea of the various endeavours made to restore in France the spirit of sociability, combining with it the taste for intellectual pursuits. Voiture's wit incessantly sparkling like a display of fireworks, but quite as unsubstantial, resulted in all the puerilities of the Précieuse literature, and it is a pity that a man who could write such letters as

the *Lettre de la carpe au brochet* and the *Lettre sur la prise de Corbie* should have wasted his time upon riddles, jokes and puns. The prose of Balzac, on the other hand, stilted, artificial and elaborate, tended to destroy every spontaneity in composition, and under the pen of a mere imitator would become utter nonsense.

In Molière's comedy *Les Femmes savantes*, the couplet—

> "Ne dis plus qu'il est *amarante*
> Dis plutôt qu'il est *de ma rente*."

is a specimen of the worst Voiture: the amusing speech of Thomas Diafoirus in the *Malade imaginaire* reminds us a little of Balzac.

The contrast between the character of Voiture and that of Balzac is quite as amusing as that which we find between their respective talents; the former might perhaps be accused of wanting dignity; but, on the other hand, how agreeable he was! How kind! How unselfish! With Balzac the case is totally different, and his style is the best clue, perhaps, to his moral nature; eaten up with vanity, he sees nothing beyond himself, and the admiration, the *engouement* which he inspires causes him to believe that he really is a paragon of perfection. Contemporary writers inform us that out of politeness he always took off his hat when he spoke about himself, which accounted for the fact that he so often suffered from cold in the head. Referring to the death of his father, he one day said in a letter, "Since

I last wrote to you, I have lost that good natured old father of mine (*mon bonhomme de père*)." Of course he was never married; the cares and anxieties which accompany family life would have proved too great a trial for his intense selfishness. "I do not want," says he, "to be obliged to count every day the hairs of my wife in order to feel quite sure that she is faithful. As for children, if they are evil-disposed and wicked, they will long after my death; if they happen to be good, they will expect it, at any rate, and think of it sometimes, even supposing they were the best principled children in the world. I will have none of that." Balzac, so heartless and indifferent about home affections is quite as careful not to allow patriotism and philanthrophy to disturb his repose. "We should never have done," says he, "if we wished to take to heart the concerns of this world, or feel anxious for the good of the public of which we form only a very small part. . . . If we regard all men as our relatives, we must make up our mind to wear mourning all our life long." These sentiments are very different from Terence's *homo sum*, and if it is true that genuine eloquence rises from the heart, Balzac was *not* eloquent.

Voiture was essentially a man of the world, he loved society, and was never so happy as when surrounded by all the minor stars of the Hotel de Rambouillet; Balzac habitually lived away from Paris, on the principle, no doubt, that *major a longinquo reverentia*; the fact is that he had been,

he thought, slighted by Richelieu, and his vanity was sorely wounded. He retired to an estate he possessed in the province of Angoumois, but he took care at the same time to keep himself constantly before the public. He represents himself as perfectly besieged by applications for letters which circulated about from *salon* to *salon*, exciting universal admiration, and forming the subject both of the talk and jealousy of all other aspirants after literary fame. "At the very moment when I am now addressing you," we still quote, "I have on my table a hundred letters awaiting answers; there are some from crowned heads. . . . My friends insist upon eloquent answers, answers fit to be shown, handed about, copied, printed." Balzac's chief works are *Le Socrate Chrétien*, *Le Prince*, and *Les Entretiens à Ménandre*, in which he gave, before Pascal, the example of a serious and impartial style of controversy. In one word, Balzac is a perfect artist, but his writings never betray that feeling which makes us love the man.

One of the most famous of the literary meetings of the early seventeenth century in France was that which sat at the house and under the auspices of the Protestant Valentin Conrart, whom we have already alluded to more than once. He was a man of great judgment, of the most unblemished reputation, and he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of the best known writers of the day.

Being on intimate terms with Balzac, Godeau and other literary characters who shared his taste for intellectual pursuits, he was fond of discussing with them all sorts of subjects bearing upon history, science, philosophy and *belles lettres*. In 1629, in order to give to these meetings greater regularity, he proposed to his friends that they should assemble at his house once a week. These gatherings lasted in the first instance for the space of four years; in 1634, however, having married Madeleine Muisson, and accepted the post of secretary to the king, Conrart felt obliged to close the literary reunions which he had originated and carried on with so much success; and the members of the society assembled afterwards, sometimes at the house of Desmarets, the well known author of the comedy *Les Visionnaires*, sometimes at that of the poet Chapelain. It was then that a code of statutes was drawn up for the society, and three officers were appointed to manage its transactions; of these officers two were annually chosen—*the chancellor* and *the director;* the third, *the secretary*, was elected for life, and by an act of courtesy which was certainly well deserved, this post was given to Conrart.

It had been resolved at first that the meetings of the academy should be kept secret, and for some time the resolution was strictly adhered to; but experience has more than once proved that such promises are never of long duration, especially when as many as *forty* persons are concerned in

it, and Maleville, one of the academicians, having mentioned it to a literary friend of his, Faret, the news got to the ears of Boisrobert, a man perfectly forgotten now, but who in 1634 was one of the most prominent oracles of the day, and enjoyed the confidence of Cardinal Richelieu. If we believe Guy Patin, Boisrobert, although a beneficed clergyman, was notorious for the irregularity of his life; he had all the qualities of a thorough Epicurean, combined with a certain taste for literature and a spirit of repartee, which rendered him a great favourite at the *Palais Cardinal*. But even Richelieu could not resist the irritation which Boisrobert's scandalous behaviour created in the public, and he resolved upon dismissing him from his presence. The separation was a sad one, and if satisfaction had been given to the susceptibility of the religious Parisians, how, on the other hand, would the prime-minister manage to get on without the company of the wit who amused him so regularly by his anecdotes, and caused him to forget the cares of politics and the burden of State difficulties? Feeling very unwell one day, he sent for his physician who, after giving him a prescription, added: "Monseigneur, all our drugs will prove useless if you do not add to them one dose of Boisrobert." The advice was followed at once, and one of the first pieces of gossip which the restored favourite told his master was that of the creation and organization of Conrart's academy. The idea, he said,

seemed to him a most useful one; it would encourage a taste for intellectual pursuits, and be most probably the means of introducing to the notice of the public Monseigneur's own dramatic compositions, the glory of the age, and the pride of France. The intelligence thus given by Boisrobert to the prime minister came very opportunely.

When Cardinal Richelieu heard about these *conversaziones*, he saw at once both the dangers which might arise from them if they became political clubs, and the assistance they might give him if he wished to press eloquence and learning in the service of his own ambitious views; he accordingly sent one of his agents to sound these gentlemen, and to ask them whether they would not like to form a regular body, and to meet at stated times under the sanction of public authority. His proposition was very coolly received; most of Conrart's friends would have far preferred their independence, and some of them, connected with noblemen who held decidedly *anti-cardinalist* opinions, were afraid lest by accepting the prime-minister's offer they should be suspected of betraying their protectors' interests, and of wishing to act as spies. However, a desire expressed by Richelieu was almost equivalent to an order, and the *Académie Française* was established by letters patent dated July 10, 1637. We have already alluded to the opposition raised by the Paris parliament against this new creation of the cardinal; the resistance was absurd, no doubt, but it proved that the general

feeling suspected Richelieu of wishing to stifle independence even in literature, and of carrying his despotic views beyond the limits of politics, strictly so called.

It is not the place to examine here how far the creation of the Académie Française has been favourable to the progress of taste and of elegant composition; we shall merely say that the protector of the new institution, anxious to shine as an *homme de lettres* as well as a statesman, wrote several tragi-comedies which still exist, and of which it would be difficult to say whether the language or the plot is more ridiculous. The one called *Mirame* was brought out in 1639 on a theatre, built in the Palais Cardinal on purpose, at a great expense; it could be performed only twice, as even his most ardent supporters could not get up enthusiasm enough to admire a play where the scenery alone was a success. "Well! Frenchmen never had taste!" such is the remark which Richelieu philosophically made to his *collaborateur*, Desmarets, on seeing the indifference exhibited by the audience to the destinies of the unfortunate Mirame.

Richelieu's influence on literature must not be measured by the fate which awaited his wretched plays; it is not too much to say that for the space of twenty years he was the centre not only of the political but of the intellectual world. Around him as around their guide and their protector, we find the busy crowd of parliamentary orators, historians,

memoir writers, *gazetiers*, legists; he understood nothing, it is true, about dramatic composition, but he protected the drama, and his encouragement of literature possessed this good quality that it was not limited to a coterie or guided by jealousy. (§) Richelieu, besides, as a *littérateur*, has other titles than those of a poet. Let the reader turn, for instance, to the history of the States-general of 1614, and let him study the speech which the Bishop of Luçon made in his capacity as deputy of the clergy. Its merits are all the more apparent because they stand out in strong contrast to the heaviness, the stilted and affected mannerism of those which were delivered by the orators of the nobility and of the *bourgeoisie*. Richelieu, as an excellent critic very appropriately observes,* spurns college declamation, scholastic pedantry and a useless display of erudition; his language is clear, precise, remarkable by its manliness; he goes at once to the end he has in view, and allows no obstacle to stop from his purpose. He speaks with the twofold authority of a bishop and of a politician. Those who wish to become acquainted with Richelieu as a writer must leave entirely aside his theological and controversial works (*Ordonnances Synodales; —Les principaux points de la foi catholique défendus contre l'édit adressé au Roi par les ministres de Charenton*, Poitiers, 1617, 8vo;—*Instruction du Chrétien*, Poitiers, 1621, 8vo;—*La méthode la plus*

* Demogeot, *Tableau de la Littérature Française au XVII^e^ siècle avant Corneille et Descartes.*

facile et assurée de convertir ceux qui sont séparés de l'Église; Paris, 1651, fo.): they must direct their attention to the numerous memoirs which the cardinal composed on contemporary affairs, and especially to his voluminous correspondence, which enables us to complete what history tells us about his character, and not unfrequently to correct certain impressions which we have almost unwittingly accepted on the authority of tradition. Thus we know the severity of the minister, his inflexible determination to punish his enemies, and to "mow down" every obstacle which stood in his way. We accordingly expect, on perusing his letters, to find expressions of blame and reproach freely indulged in, and visiting the smallest offence; quite the contrary. Richelieu often pretends to ignore faults and petty neglects of duty which he does not want to punish; if he has to complain of a general, he leaves the care of writing to one of his secretaries, who informs the culprit that the accusing despatch has been concealed from the prime minister. When the necessity for chastisement is beyond a doubt, the blow falls, and falls heavily; but if a mere reprimand is all that is wanted, Richelieu takes the utmost care not to crush the zeal of the offender by letting him feel that there is no possible room for pardon.

The *Succincte Narration des Grandes Actions du Roi* is a work of the utmost interest, for whilst the correspondence conjures up before our eyes the cardinal in his non-official and familiar character,

we have here the statesman who appeals to posterity, the historian who gives a faithful and dignified "account of his stewardship." The very title of the work arrests our attention at first; we see Richelieu anxious to save the susceptibilities of the monarch whose pliable will it was his business to mould, and to whom he dexterously ascribes the honour of high deeds which would never have been accomplished if the directing thought and the acting hand had been those of a La Vieuville, or De Luynes, or a Concini. We may consider the *Succincte Narration* as a splendid piece of apologetic composition where facts instead of arguments plead Richelieu's cause, and justify him at the tribunal of posterity. The *Testament Politique* is the necessary complement of this work; it was evidently drawn up by the order and under the direction of the cardinal, but by the hand of a secretary; and although the genius of Richelieu has left its mark upon certain portions of the narrative, and even certain details, it is tolerably clear that it did not receive from end to end the benefit of the master's revision and correction.

Richelieu, we have already had occasion to say, possessed no small share of literary conceit. Just as, for his dramatic composition, he did not spurn the assistance of complacent *collaborateurs*, so in the preparation of his memoirs he secured the assistance of writers such as Vialar, Marshal D'Estrées and Deageant; but he reserved to himself the pleasure of reducing into shape the

materials which these persons had brought together, and in one of his letters he alludes with a certain amount of *naïve* vanity to the pleasure he felt in "representing (*i.e.* giving an artistic shape) what had been the result of a great deal of toil and trouble."

We have reserved for the last a curious work which created a great sensation when it was first published. We allude to the well-known *Histoire de la Mère et du Fils*, ascribed in the first instance to the historian Mézeray, but clearly and conclusively proved to have been Richelieu's own work. If we study in chronological order the innumerable documents and *pièces justificatives* which the cardinal has taken care to bequeath to us we can now form a very adequate idea, both of his character and of the events with which he was so closely mixed. We see him at first modest and humble, ready to accept all the objections raised against him by his correspondents, flattering and humouring every one, and submitting to the humiliating necessities of political ambition. As he goes on he becomes bolder, he ventures to give his opinion, to assert his own dignity, and when he has at last reached the position of a prime minister, he makes the weak Louis XIII. speak as Henry IV. himself would have done.

The age of Richelieu offers to the researches of historical students a number of memoirs and political pamphlets which, although not particularly noticeable in point of style, deserve to be

mentioned as important contributions towards the annals of a busy epoch. We may name here the autobiographies of La Vieuville, the Duke de Rohan, the Marshal d'Estrées, Pontchartrain, Bassompierre, Fontenay-Mareuil, and Monglat. The professed historian of the time was Scipion Dupleix, who, taking up and recasting the work of Charles Bernard, an obscure compiler, reduced it into a shape, and made of it a panegyric of the cardinal. The proofs, it is even said, were corrected by Richelieu.

Pamphlet literature, as may naturally be supposed, was extremely prolific. Not that attacks against the Government could be printed in France; but they either circulated in manuscript or were published in Holland, in Lorraine, in Germany. On the one side Sirmond, Paul Hay du Châtelet, Mézeray; on the other Father Chanteloube, Matthieu de Morgues, took up their pens respectively for and against the minister; Richelieu himself, if the report is true, not scorning to play the part of a satirist in the *Mot à l'Oreille* and *La France mourante*. It would be difficult to find a spark of wit in these ephemeral productions (*Le Pacifique, Le Censeur, Le Philothemis, Le Confiteor de Henri IV., Le Miroir de la France, L'Écho Royal des Tuileries, Le Caquet, L'Anti-caquet, Le Caquet des Familles*, etc., etc.), but they illustrate very well the state of public opinion, and they form the connecting link between the pamphlets published during the League, and the *Mazarinades*. There is an anecdote on record that Richelieu ordered some *colporteurs* to read

out on the Pont-Neuf, in a loud voice, a violent pamphlet in which he was accused of every possible crime, together with the answer he made to his enemies; thus showing that he did not fear the verdict of France on his administration at home and his policy abroad. Voiture's *Lettre sur la Prise de Corbie* is undoubtedly, from every point of view, the most remarkable of the political works composed in defence of Cardinal Richelieu; written in a serious and eloquent tone, inspired by true patriotism, it is a masterpiece, and will outlive the amusing but tiresomely witty effusions which amused so much Madame de Rambouillet and Mademoiselle Paulet. In connection with this part of our subject we must just mention Théophraste Renaudot, who, having obtained the patent of physician to the king, contrived to ingratiate himself with the prime minister, and obtained from him the twofold privilege of opening a sort of registrar's office for advertisements, notices of sales, etc., and of publishing, under the title *La Gazette de France*, a weekly paper which met at once with the greatest success.

Newspaper literature may be said to date from the commencement of the seventeenth century; it made its appearance simultaneously, or very nearly so, in England, in France and in Germany, under the influence of the same causes and as the result of the same requirements. At that time there was a universal desire of obtaining accurate and detailed intelligence of all the events of the day, and

when Renaudot made his *début* as a journalist he was perfectly amazed at the number of gazettes or journals which were clandestinely distributed, and the contents of which were generally narratives of some court scandal or vulgar piece of gossip. They were known by the name of *Nouvelles à la Main*, and so eagerly sought for that a whole class of literary Bohemians lived exclusively by collecting from all quarters and very frequently composing news and intelligence of the most miscellaneous character. Some of these gazettes were printed, others were circulated in manuscript. The popularity obtained by these early newspapers increased so rapidly that no circle, no coterie, no club was without its office where news both home and foreign were collected, copied and forwarded to subscribers who paid a sum proportionate to the size of the paper.

We can easily imagine that a man like Renaudot, ingenious, intelligent, having travelled and observed much, saw the great advantages which must infallibly result from the regular publication of a newspaper carefully edited, and containing reliable details on daily occurrences at home and abroad. Besides, the journal thus conceived and carried out would prove for the government, or rather for the prime minister, an admirable help, and a means of stopping all the scurrilous pamphlets which were so plentifully distributed. Being issued distinctly *cum privilegio*, it feared no competition, and no one would dare entering the lists against a

journalist who, for aught one knew, might be Richelieu himself.

A further circumstance pointed to Renaudot as the natural *rédacteur-en-chef* of the projected newspaper; the registrar's office which he had opened was a fertile source of intelligence and gossip, and he had been obliged to set up a printing press for which ample work would now be regularly provided. On the 30th of May, 1631, a decree was issued by his majesty "granting to Théophraste Renaudot, one of our councillors and physicians in ordinary, master and superintendent of the registrar's office (*bureau d'adresse*) of the realm, and likewise to his children, descendants and trustees, the privilege of collecting, printing, editing and selling wheresoever and by the agency of whomsoever he pleases, the news, gazettes and narrative of whatever has taken or is at present taking place both within and without the kingdom, interviews, conferences, prices current, etc.; the privilege is granted in perpetuity, that is to say so long as the aforesaid gazettes, news sheets and other prints are circulated in France; to the exclusion of all other persons." The first number of the *Gazette de France* is supposed to have been issued on the same day as the royal edict; it assumed from the beginning a political character. "This is," said Renaudot in his preface, "the journal of the kings and powers of the earth."

The discussion of political questions in those

days was a dangerous thing, unless the views adopted were in strict accordance with the line prescribed both by the *Éminence rouge* and the *Éminence grise;* but Renaudot had, very wisely, taken the safe side, and at the end of two years' trial as a journalist, he was in a position to say to foreign powers that it was no use their endeavouring to prevent intelligence from their respective countries from reaching the office of the *Gazette de France;* "it is," said he, "a merchandise the trading in which has never been successfully prohibited, and it participates in the nature of a torrent, inasmuch as it merely increases by the resistance offered to it."

From historical literature we pass on to tales, novels and romances, which are in a certain degree branches of the same family, for they are so to say photographs of society, and throw much curious light upon the manners, customs, feelings and aspirations of the day. Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Grand Cyrus* was even more than that; two hundred years before the author of *Waverley* had produced his immortal works, it realized the idea of an historical novel, and the laborious researches of the late M. Victor Cousin have proved that the adventures of Cyrus, his battles and his exploits of various kinds are nothing else but a wonderfully accurate description of the Duke d'Enghien's military career, and of the brilliant successes with which he inaugurated the minority of Louis XIV. From the battle-field of Lens, where the concluding

scenes of the Thirty Years' War were being enacted, Mademoiselle de Scudéry takes us to the Paris *salons* and introduces us to the *habitués* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Then it is that she appears as Sappho, and around her we find *Cléomire* (Madame de Rambouillet herself), the adorable *Cléonide* (Julie d'Angennes), the beautiful *Anacrise* (Clarisse, her sister), the wonderful *Élise* (Mademoiselle Paulet), the generous *Mégabate* (the Duke de Montausier), the illustrious *magus* of Sidon (Godeau, Bishop of Grasse), the agreeable *Cléarque* (Voiture), the wise *Théodamas* (Conrart), and the admirable *Aristée* (Chapelain). Ogier de Gombaud, La Calprenède and Gomberville also contributed their share to the literature of novels and romances. The *Endymion* of the first of these writers, utterly worthless in point of style, owes its reputation to the fact that, whilst pretending to relate the well-known classical story, Gombaud really expressed his ridiculous passion for the queen Mary de' Medici, then somewhat on the wane, and whose fifty years no artifice could possibly conceal.

Having one day to ask a favour of one of the influential personages in attendance upon Cardinal Richelieu, Marin le Roy sieur de Gomberville (*Thalassius Basilides a Gombervilla*, as he was fond of styling himself) engaged a street porter for the purpose of carrying a complete set of his works. *La Caritée* (1621), *Polexandre* (1632–1637), *La Cythérée* (1640–1642), and *La Jeune Alcidiane* (1651) were no doubt two centuries ago very famous

romances, much in request at the Hôtel de Rambouillet; but who has ever heard them even mentioned, except *Polexandre*, which is indebted for its success principally to the circumstance that it describes the relations between France and Spain, and that it deserves, to a certain extent, a place in the list of historical romances? Gomberville had, besides, conceived for the conjunction *car* so intense an aversion, that he boasted of not having made use of it once in his four volumes, substituting everywhere instead the phrase *pour ce que*. It was this singularity which suggested to Voiture the witty letter addressed to Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, in which he took the defence of the threatened conjunction. (§) La Calprenède may be named also amongst the authors of long-winded, pseudo-heroic romances; his *Cléopâtre* and his *Cassandre* have not even the merit of being well written; the style has neither character nor energy, and the wonder is that to the seven volumes of his unfinished *Pharamond* an enthusiastic continuator should have had the patience to add five others.

Against these imitations of Spanish literature a reaction was inevitable; the stilted, unnatural and tedious romances of the *précieux* school became so insufferable in their dulness, that many attempts were made with much success in a diametrically opposite direction. Charles Sorel's *Histoire Comique de Francion* is not very edifying, certainly, but it is extremely amusing, and not unfrequently makes us think of Le Sage's *Gil Blas*.

Sorel was born for opposition. His *Francion*, says M. Colombey, is a kind of *Fronde* of which Honoré d'Urfé was the Mazarin. "We have had"—we quote from the preface—"tragic histories enough to sadden us; let us now have one of a comic kind, and capable of giving pleasure to the gloomiest minds." The Hôtel de Rambouillet, Ménage's *Mercuriales*, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, did not inspire the slightest respect to the clever satirist; he even attacked the heroes of the day, Balzac and Voiture, for whom he had no more esteem than for "a couple of fiddlers." By an amusing contrast, the *Histoire Comique de Francion* was published the same year as the second volume of *l'Astrée* and as the *Cythérée* of Gomberville. It went through sixty editions in the space of forty years, and each edition was augmented to a considerable extent by fresh stories which Sorel (or the *Sieur du Parc*, as he pseudonymously styled himself) kept making up as he went on through life, observing the manners, foibles, and ridicules of his fellow-Parisians. It is very much to his credit that nothing would induce him to speak of the clergy or of religion but in terms of the greatest respect. Noblemen, officers, magistrates, literary characters, *Précieux* and *Precieuses*, all the various types of French society crowd his pages and receive hits which are dealt with no unsparing hand; the Church alone escapes. "If the *curés* (incumbents) misbehave themselves," he says somewhere, "the bishops are at hand to reprove them; it is no business of mine." Théo-

phile de Viaud has also published, under the title of *Fragments d'une Histoire Comique*, a few chapters which betray real talent, and which, in point of wit, humour and style, are far superior even to *Francion*. Scarron's *Roman Comique* and his *Virgile Travesti* are posterior, chronologically, but they belong to the same school, and may be regarded as masterpieces of their kind.

In the domains of poetry, when we have named Malherbe's two disciples, Racan and Maynard, there is no author of any merit who really deserves a mention; for a few madrigals, sonnets, *bouts-rimés*, and epigrams are not sufficient to immortalize Benserade, Sarrasin and Godeau. This last-named rhymester, after having during his youth composed a number of love-songs, committed them all to the flames, and set about paraphrasing the psalms and the hymns of the Roman breviary. His version of the *Benedicite* pleased Richelieu so much that he conferred upon the author the bishopric of Grasse. "Vous me donnez *Benedicite*," said he in his most amiable manner, "et je vous donne *Grasse* (grâce)." The quality of the pun was doubtful, but the gift was not the less acceptable.

Chapelain is perhaps the most celebrated of Boileau's victims. The author of *l'Art Poétique* asks why he would persist in writing poetry. The question might, we think, be modified so far as to express a doubt whether Chapelain should have written at all. The work which has held him up to ridicule is the famous *Pucelle*, which it took him

five years to meditate, and which he sketched in prose before writing a single line of it. The first twelve cantos, published in 1656, went through six editions in eighteen months, but this fit of enthusiasm did not last, and the remaining portion of the epic is still manuscript. The critic Montmaur composed on the poem the following Latin epigram :

"Illa Capellani dudum expectata puella
Post tanta in lucem tempora, prodit anus."

Thus rendered into French by Linière—

"Nous attendions de Chapelain
Une Pucelle
Jeune et belle ;
Vingt ans à la forger il perdit son Latin,
Et de sa main
Il sort enfin
Une vieille sempiternelle."

The want of originality and of vigour which characterizes all the productions we have just been naming, is equally conspicuous in the dramatic works of Mairet and Desmarets. We have already seen Richelieu attempting to establish his reputation as a composer of tragedies ; (§) having neither the time nor, let us add, the talent to shine in that direction, he had engaged as his *collaborateurs* five authors—Colletet, Boisrobert, L'Étoile, Rotrou, and Corneille—who constituted what was called *la brigade du Cardinal*, or *l'Académie de campagne*. To these he dictated his sketches, suggested subjects, and explained his conceptions of character, dialogue, scenery. The results were very far from satisfactory. In his *répertoire* of upwards of five

hundred plays, Garnier had the merit, at any rate, of riveting the interest of the audience by startling episodes, which atoned for the wretched meanness of his style; Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, written according to the strictly classical recipe, was a great improvement; Racan's *Bergeries* are tediousness itself; Théophile de Viaud's *Pirame et Thisbé* transferred on the stage the vocabulary of the *Précieuses*, and, as M. Demogeot wittily remarks, "made of the Hôtel de Bourgogne an echo of the Hôtel de Rambouillet." There it is that the famous couplet occurs—

> "Ha! voici le poignard qui du sang de son maître
> S'est sonillé lâchement: il en rougit, le traître!"

It was impossible that all this extravagance should last. The author to whom belongs the merit of having put an end to it was Desmarets. In his play, *Les Visionnaires*, he held up to ridicule all the nonsense which passed current at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and if his descriptions and sketches of character too often strike us as decidedly broad, it may be answered that the puerilities which had so long been accepted as masterpieces of genius deserved, not the honour of serious criticism, but merely to be laughed off the stage.

We must not grudge a short notice to "Alexandre Hardy, Parisien," to quote his favourite designation—a dramatic author absolutely destitute of genius, but who understood the art of writing *sensational* pieces, and amusing the play-going public. For want of originality he borrowed wher-

ever he could the subjects of his tragi-comedies. History, mythology, Italian and Spanish novels—everything was fish which came to his net; and he was thus able to produce, some say six, others eight hundred plays. Out of that large number only forty-one have been published—quite enough to give an idea of Hardy's style. We have seen in our own time Alexandre Dumas's *Three Musketeers* taking two *soirées* in the performance. Alexandre Hardy taxed the patience of his friends for eight successive nights when his tragedy *Theagenes and Chariclea* was brought out. It is nothing else but the romance of Heliodorus reduced into the shape of a dialogue, and acted instead of being read. Our friend M. Demogeot * reminds us that when this drama was performed (1601) it was not long since mysteries and miracle-plays were acted—all quite as long, and almost as tedious. *Theagenes and Chariclea* might be considered in the light of a *secular* mystery, and judged according to the same standard. Hardy cared nothing for propriety, style, taste and correctness. His *Ars Poetica* consisted in filling the house; the box-keeper was his Apollo. He could dash off two thousand lines in twenty-four hours. It is true that a five-act tragedy, comedy, or tragi-comedy brought him, on an average, *three crowns*. Under such pecuniary difficulties it would be wrong to find fault with Hardy either as a thinker or a writer; it is not

* M. Demogeot, *Tableau de la Littérature Française avant Corneille et Descartes.*

every one who can afford to be classical at the rate of five shillings an act!

Only Rotrou and Pierre Corneille remain to be noticed. We have seen that they both belonged to the *Académie de campagne*, and it is not difficult to determine the share they had respectively in the dramatic works of the "five authors." They had sufficient genius, however, to cast away the *collaboration* even of the cardinal, and there is no doubt that Corneille's impatience of the yoke was the chief cause of the cabal raised against the *Cid* when that admirable tragedy, or tragi-comedy, as it was called, first appeared. The early plays of the author (*La Veuve, La Suivante, La Place Royale, La Galerie du Palais, L'Illusion*, etc.) were composed too decidedly after the prevailing taste to excite the jealousy of other dramatists, but the *Cid* gave evidence of such superiority that Richelieu's self-love for once took the alarm; he encouraged Scudéry and his *coterie* to run down the new candidate for literary fame, and ordered the Académie Française to write a critique of the play which was exciting so much attention. Mairet and Boisrobert felt bound, of course, to side with their protector, and Chapelain drew up the bill of accusation; but, much to the credit of the academicians, the *Sentiments de l'Académie sur le Cid*, despite several reservations, proved really a panegyric, and Corneille, encouraged by the enthusiasm with which his tragedy had been received, continued to write for the stage. *Horace, Cinna*,

Polyeucte, Le Menteur, Pompée, all belong to the reign of Louis XIII.

Rotrou was chronologically anterior to Corneille, but, as a matter of fact, he must be regarded as his disciple; for whereas *Le Cid* bears the date of 1636, those amongst Rotrou's works which deserve to be noticed—*Saint-Genest, Venceslas, Cosroes*—were written ten years later. The difference we find between the compositions of these two poets and those of their contemporaries does not reside so much in the source from which they borrowed their subjects, as in the treatment of these subjects. *Venceslas* and *Le Cid,* for instance, are taken from the Spanish just as much as George de Scudéry's *Amour Tyrannique;* but whereas the *Précieux* dramatists laid the principal stress on a complicated plot and on startling incidents, Rotrou, and especially Corneille, made all the interest derive from the characters themselves, and from the struggle between passion and duty.

Descartes had accomplished a revolution in philosophy; the author of the *Cid* brought about one, quite as important, in dramatic literature. The attention they both excited at first served to prove that they thoroughly understood the intellectual requirements of the age in which they lived, and the high esteem in which they are still held after a lapse of more than two centuries shows that their success was not due to fashion and caprice.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FINE ARTS—GENERAL SUMMARY.

In his amusing play *Le Menteur*, Corneille introduces a country gentleman coming to Paris after a long absence, and expressing his admiration of the improvements he sees everywhere.

> "Paris semble à mes yeux un pays de romans;
> Je croyois ce matin voir une île enchantée;
> Je la laissai déserte, et la trouve habitée.
> Quelqu' Amphion nouveau, sans l'aide des maçons,
> En superbe palais a changé les buissons."

Allowing, of course, for a little exaggeration natural to poets, this description is tolerably correct. Political matters had so completely absorbed the attention of Henry IV. that he had very little time to bestow upon details of material embellishments or even sanitary importance in connection with the then already large city of Paris, and at his death traces of the wars and of the domination of the League were still apparent in too many places. No sooner had Richelieu risen to power than his influence was felt in questions of municipal organization as well as of war, legislation, and finance,

and the historian Sauval (*Antiquités de Paris*, vol. i. p. 236) tells us that "this incomparable man delighted no less in embellishing Paris than his own birthplace; he went so far as to insist upon examining the plans of all the public buildings before sanctioning their construction." The result was the metamorphosis alluded to by Dorante in the extract from Corneille which we have quoted above, and which is confirmed by his father Géronte in the following manner:—

"Paris voit tous les jours de ces métamorphoses,
Dans tout le Pré-aux-Clercs tu verras mêmes choses,
Et l'univers entier ne peut voir rien d'égal
Aux superbes abords du Palais-Cardinal;
Toute une ville entière, avec pompe bâtie,
Semble d'un vieux fossé par miracle sortie."

Without attempting to go through all the particulars of the improvements made by Richelieu, we may just say a few words about the palace here named, and which, under the modified designation of Palais-Royal, has played so conspicuous a part in the history, not only of the metropolis, but of France. It was originally a mansion of very unpretending appearance, built in 1629 for Richelieu by the architect Le Mercier. Situated at the extremity of Paris, Rue Saint Honoré, near the city walls, which dated as far back as Charles V., it had nothing in the way of beauty to recommend it above the *hôtels* of the nobility; but the owner soon found it too small, and the boundaries of the city having been pulled down, it was

extended in the direction of the Rue Vivienne, whilst further purchases carried it out towards the side now occupied by the Rue Richelieu and the Rue des Bons-Enfants. The death of the cardinal prevented the complete realization of his plans, which included a hall destined for the meetings of the Académie Française, and apartments for all the academicians. Amongst the most interesting features of the Palais-Cardinal was a gallery named *La Galerie des Hommes Illustres*, decorated with portraits of the following personages:—Suger, Simon de Montfort, Gaucher de Châtillon, Duguesclin, Olivier de Clisson, Boucicault, Dunois, Joan of Arc, Georges d'Amboise, Louis de la Trémouille, Gaston de Foix, Bayard, Charles de Cossé Duke de Brissac, Anne de Montmorency, François de Lorraine Duke de Guise, the Cardinal de Lorraine, Blaise de Monluc, Armand de Gontaut-Biron, Lesdiguières, Henry IV., Mary de' Medici, Anne of Austria, Gaston d'Orléans, and Richelieu himself. Marble busts were placed in the intervals between these portraits, which had been painted by Champagne, Vouët, Juste d'Egmont, and Poussin. On the 6th of June, 1636, the cardinal made over his palace to Louis XIII., subsequently confirming the donation by his will, dated Narbonne, 1642.

Two of the most valuable creations, the merit of which belongs to Richelieu, are the royal printing establishment, and the *Jardin royal des Plantes*, or botanical garden. Let us glance at them in succession.

Francis I., as is well known, had given to every branch of literature the most powerful impulse, and, amongst other subjects, he had not neglected the development and perfecting of printing. Unfortunately the religious wars of the sixteenth century both stopped the progress encouraged by him who has been justly called *Le Père des lettres*, and even deprived France of the treasures which it already possessed. Thus, whilst the Medici family —those enlightened protectors of literature, science and art—owned in Rome a printing-press amply supplied with Oriental characters, it would have been quite impossible at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV. to publish in Paris any book necessitating the use of Hebrew, Arabic, or Persian type. Louis XIII. resolved upon supplying this desideratum, and he did so with an amount of energy and persistency which reflect upon him the greatest credit.

In 1589 a certain Savary de Brèves, Marquis de Maulevrier, equally celebrated as a diplomatist and a scholar, had been sent to Constantinople, where he represented France for the long space of twenty-two years. Thanks to his skill, and to his acquaintance with Eastern literature, he enjoyed the most extraordinary influence at the court of the Sultans Amurath III., Mahomet III., and Achmet I., and made use of that influence, in the first place, to procure to France political advantages, and secondly, to help on the cause of erudition and literature. Having purchased a large

number of splendid manuscripts, he caused to be engraved from them sets of Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and Turkish type, the execution of which was entrusted, some say, to a celebrated workman, named Le Bé. It seems, however, more probable that these characters were engraved in the Levant; for De Brèves left Constantinople only in 1611, and fifteen months later he started for Rome, taking with him his typographical establishment. When there, he published as early as 1613 an Arabic translation of Cardinal Bellarmine's Catechism, and also an Arabic version of the Book of Psalms, with the following indication on the titlepage, *Ex Typographia Savariana*. Now, the stay of the French ambassador in Paris was too short to admit of his having been able to get all the type he required cast and prepared there; if, therefore, Le Bé had any share in the undertaking, it must have been quite unimportant. The death of Savary de Brèves (1627) very nearly deprived France of the result of his unremitting labours, for his heirs determined upon putting up his printing-presses, founts of type, etc., for sale by auction; both English and Dutch were competing for the purchase of them, when, in 1632, Cardinal Richelieu directed Antoine de Vitré, printer to the king and the clergy, to buy *at any cost* all the coveted treasures, and for the relatively small sum of 4300 livres they were finally secured to the nation. A few years before, Sublet de Noyers had been refused 27,000 livres as the price of them.

However immense all these resources were for the progress of learned printing in France, Louis XIII. was not yet satisfied; he commissioned in 1632 the same Antoine de Vitré to procure at the expense of the royal exchequer some Armenian and Ethiopian type, for the engraving of which Vitré made a bargain with a well-known type-founder, Jacques de Sanlecque, who had applied himself to the study of Oriental lore. Money difficulties unhappily prevented for a season the carrying out of the king's intentions, so far as the Ethiopian type was concerned; and, in order to avoid a law-suit, Antoine de Vitré found himself compelled to become personally responsible for the Armenian characters which he had already received from Jacques de Sanlecque. He further retained for several years the printing materials left by Savary de Brèves, together with the Greek type cast according to the order of Francis I., and made use of them for the purpose of bringing out President Le Jay's polyglot Bible. We shall not enter into the details of the difficulties which arose between the Government and poor Antoine de Vitré about the possession and the payment of these various founts; our business is merely to state briefly the different steps which led to the organization of the royal printing-office, and we notice that in the year 1631 Cardinal Richelieu was entrusted with the direction and management of printing so far as breviaries, missals, and other Church services were concerned; he received permission to select from

the printers and publishers of the metropolis eighteen competent persons who should form a *typographical society*, protected by a royal privilege, on the express condition of their issuing the New Testament, Church catechisms, and grammars in the idioms of the Levant. A certain number of copies were to be given gratuitously to missionaries and to such converts as might be recommended.

The society we are now alluding to did not realize all the hopes which Richelieu had entertained; the publishers, very naturally, made a selection from the manuscripts submitted to them, and printed those alone which they thought most likely to bring in a reasonable profit; other causes of dissatisfaction also appeared, and finally, in 1640, acting under the inspiration of the cardinal, Louis XIII. ordered the formation of a printing-office, to which he gave the name of *Imprimerie royale*. The following inscription commemorates this really important event:—

"Anno mirabili MDCXL
Casale servato
Atrebate expugnato
Taurino recuperato
Hostibus terra marique fusis
Regia prole ad sæculi felicit. aucta
Stupente orbe
Ludovicus Justus
Ne quid sui nominis gloriæ deesset
Sua lente musarum fautore
E. C. D. Richelio
Typographiam
In ædibus regiis collocavit."

It would be idle to conceal that the foundation of the *Imprimerie royale,* independently of the services it was called on to render to literature, was regarded by the wily cardinal as another and powerful means of carrying on his despotic government, and we have no doubt that this motive was paramount in his mind. Twenty years later, we find in another official document that the royal printing-press was established "for the purpose of giving to the public the works of good authors printed in type worthy of their merit." Such are the expressions of the order of 1660, confirming the creation of the *Imprimerie royale;* and all readers acquainted with French literature know how thoroughly the State printing-press in Paris has ever since deserved its reputation. The offices were at first established in the Louvre, on the ground floor, immediately below what is now the principal picture gallery. The administrator and general superintendent was Sublet de Noyers, who, appointed to the secretaryship of war since 1633, had also been named in 1638 director of the royal buildings and manufactures. Sebastien Cramoisy, the most distinguished publisher of his time, received the nomination of principal printer, whilst the responsible part of corrector was given to Tréchet Dufresne, a *savant* of great reputation as a numismatist and a book collector. Tannegui-Lefebvre, father of the well-known scholar, Madame Dacier, and a great friend of Richelieu, held the office of inspector with a salary of two thousand livres. Eminent artists were engaged to draw

the frontispieces and other ornaments, and Poussin, who was one of them, complains, in a letter addressed to the Commendatore del Pozzo, that the extreme ease with which he executed these trifling sketches caused him to be in very great request, and prevented him from finding time for more serious works. The types used were cast with the utmost care, and after a great deal of negotiation, the French Government contrived to get back from Geneva the set of Greek characters alluded to above, which had been cast in Paris, under the superintendence of Robert Estienne, by the celebrated Claude Garamond, at the express command of King Francis I., and which therefore really belonged to the nation. These, together with the materials accumulated by Savary de Brèves and Antoine de Vitré, enabled his majesty's printers to start under the best possible conditions, and if we believe Sauval, the learned historian of Paris,* the results obtained merely during the first two years surpassed every expectation.†

The *Jardin royal des Plantes* has already been mentioned as one of the most noteworthy foundations of the reign of Louis XIII. For many years there had existed an official known by the name of *Herboriste du roi*, whose business it was to collect and cultivate medicinal plants. The garden he had under his direction was ridiculously small, the

* *Histoire et Recherche des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris.*

† For further details see F. A. Duprat, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie impériale de France*, chaps. i.–iii.

collection never exceeded two hundred specimens, and the modest salary affixed to the post was entirely absorbed by the purchase and carriage of plants, the correspondence entailed by these purchases, etc., etc. The duties of *Herboriste du roi* had been exercised during a period of upwards of half a century by Robin and his son Vespasian Robin, when Guy de la Brosse, physician in ordinary to the king, conceived the thought of transforming entirely the *Jardin royal des Plantes*, and of making it both a scientific and a charitable establishment. He wanted to regenerate medicine by the study of botany, and at the same time to form a garden where sick people in straitened circumstances might purchase at a cheap rate the plants necessary for their different cases. Guy de la Brosse seems to have been a remarkable man in every respect; like the most illustrious amongst his contemporaries, he saw the necessity of throwing off the trammels of routine, and of substituting the method of observation in scientific subjects for the easy but unsatisfactory dictates of tradition. His *Traité de la Nature des Plantes*, dedicated to Cardinal de Richelieu, contains the following striking passage :—

"If we go against the opinion of the ancients, and if we speak less respectfully of them than their worshippers do, it is not that we hold them in no esteem. They did what they could for the age in which they lived, let us perform what we can for ours. So long as we have experience and reason on

our side, we shall be the strongest; truth must needs prevail over the opinion of any individual, whoever that individual may be." As M. Caillet very aptly remarks, these words, written in 1628, make us feel that the author was a contemporary of Kepler, Galileo and Descartes; they announce the *Discours de la Méthode* which was to appear ten years later.

At the time we are now speaking of, every endeavour to depart from the old ruts of tradition was considered as a dangerous heresy; the Diafoirus' *régime* still prevailed throughout the length and breadth of France, and Guy de la Brosse was made to feel it. Hérouard, first physician to the king, who supported his colleague's enlightened views, belonged to the Montpellier faculty; how could a Montpellier practitioner dare to foist his novelties upon so learned and ancient a body as the corporation of the Paris doctors, and venture within the limits of their domains? Obstacles of every kind were cast in the way of Guy de la Brosse. Fortunately, he numbered amongst his supporters the king, Richelieu, Bullion, superintendent of the finances, and Séguier, keeper of the seals; so powerfully countenanced, he could not but triumph ultimately. He had presented on the subject of the *Jardin royal des Plantes* a first memoir as far back as 1614; but the political disturbances of the time prevented it from receiving the necessary attention, and it was in 1626 only that the edict authorizing the scheme of Guy de la Brosse was granted. It received the sanction (*enregistrement*) of the

Paris Parliament on the 6th of July. The vicissitudes which marked the early stages of the new botanical garden were numerous, but the first impulse had been given, and through a long series of improvements of every kind, the *Jardin royal des Plantes*, or *Jardin du Roi*, reached the condition in which it is at the present day.

One detail should not be left unnoticed in the narrative of the circumstances connected with Guy de la Brosse's foundation. Louis XIII. was very fond of botany, and the interest he took in the planning and organization of the botanical garden arose mainly from his own tastes as an amateur gardener. It has been too much the habit to regard the king as a man thoroughly incapable and ignorant; the truth is exactly the reverse. His timidity and constitutional weakness alone prevented him from taking the initiative when he might advantageously have done so, and, very luckily for the administration of the kingdom, an able prime minister was at hand to assume the direction of affairs. Louis XIII. had a very cultivated mind; we have just seen that he understood the science of botany; he had also a decided taste for the fine arts, and was a good connoisseur in painting: he had even taken lessons of Simon Vouët, an artist who possessed more talent than genius, and whose chief glory is to have created the French school, and to have been the teacher of Le Sueur and Lebrun. Richelieu himself knew nothing more about painting than he did about

poetry, but he understood perfectly well that the encouragement of the fine arts adds to the glory of a nation, and he was a liberal patron of sculptors, painters, engravers and architects. He offered 40,000 crowns for a picture of the resurrection of Lazarus by Fra Sebastian, painted for the cathedral of Narbonne; he spent 10,000,000 livres and more on his own château of Richelieu, which, before the building of the palace at Versailles, was the most splendid structure of the kind in France, and where the cardinal had brought together at an immense cost the choicest masterpieces of ancient and French art. Sublet de Noyers, whom we have already mentioned more than once, was also a distinguished *virtuoso*, and no one discharged more efficiently than he did the office of superintendent of the royal buildings.

A result of considerable importance, and which has not generally been noticed, is that the artists honoured with the protection of Richelieu and Louis XIII. became independent, inasmuch as they had no longer to put up with the vexatious rules and requirements imposed by the guilds to which they belonged. Once more we must observe, at the risk of appearing tedious, that routine was then the all-powerful deity; the *æs triplex* of restrictions, prohibitions, and cautions which the Middle Ages had erected around theology, metaphysics, natural science, likewise hemmed in even the fine arts, and it was only by sacrificing to the Crown a comparatively small amount of this liberty that painters could

escape from the more serious despotism of ignorant and narrow-minded men who, under the designation of *Maîtres jurés Peintres et Imagiers*, claimed the right of deciding who should paint, what subjects should be painted, and on what conditions.

Three painters besides Vouët, already named above, chiefly contributed to the glory of Cardinal Richelieu's administration; they were Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Philippe de Champagne. Born at Brussels in 1602, Philippe de Champagne cannot be called strictly a Frenchman by nationality, but he came to Paris when very young, lived there nearly all his life, and finally breathed his last there (1674). In 1627, having managed to quarrel with Duchesne, first painter to the queen-mother, Philippe de Champagne had retired to Brussels, and was preparing to take up his residence in Italy, when he heard of the death of Duchesne; he then went back to Paris, and on his arrival received a pension of 1200 livres, together with rooms at the Luxembourg. The queen-mother directed him to execute the paintings in the chapel of the Carmelites in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques; he did also a considerable amount of work for Richelieu, who esteemed him very highly, and treated him with special marks of respect. Philippe de Champagne may be regarded as the painter of Jansenism. His religious sentiments were those of the Port-Royalists, and his daughter belonged to the celebrated monastery, which numbered amongst its members *la mère Angélique* and Jacqueline Pascal. Champagne enjoyed

such reputation that public opinion had universally designated him for the post of first painter to the king; but Lebrun, thanks to Colbert's influence, was elected, and we are bound to add that his genius was decidedly greater than that of his competitor.

Nicolas Poussin was honoured also with the protection of Louis XIII. and Richelieu. He had sent to France from Rome some works which attracted much notice by the evident tokens of genius they displayed. Sublet de Noyers was commissioned by the king to write to Poussin, asking him to return to France; this invitation, accompanied by an autograph letter of Louis XIII., found the painter still hesitating, when M. de Chantelou, a relative of De Noyers, and extremely fond of the fine arts, went to Rome, almost compelled Poussin to leave, and brought him to Paris. The painter has written an account of the journey, from which we borrow a short quotation: "I have performed in very good health the journey from Rome to Fontainebleau; I afterwards came to Paris. Scarcely had I arrived when I saw M. de Noyers, who greeted me most cordially. I was taken by his orders, in the course of the evening, to the apartments destined for me. It is a small palace (for I must needs call it so), situated in the middle of the garden of the Tuileries. . . . On arriving there I found the first floor splendidly furnished, and supplied with all needful provisions, even to an abundance of firewood, and cask of excellent wine two years old. For the

space of three days I have been well treated, together with my friends, at the king's expense. I was then conducted by M. de Noyers to his eminence the Cardinal de Richelieu, who embraced me very affectionately, and, shaking me by the hand, said how delighted he was at seeing me." Poussin obtained from the king the title of painter in ordinary and a pension of 3000 livres; but his stay in France was not long. The favour he enjoyed excited the jealousy of Simon Vouët, Le Mercier, and other artists, who caballed against him. Discouraged by the repeated annoyance he had to endure, he returned to Rome in 1642.

Claude Gelée, surnamed *le Lorraine* on account of his nationality, belongs also to the group of illustrious painters who honoured the French school during the seventeenth century. His talents as a landscape painter have been universally acknowledged, and the collection of sketches by him belonging now to the Duke of Devonshire are quite enough to show his superiority, even if we had not the twenty pictures which adorn the gallery of the Louvre, and those which may be seen at Dulwich. The severity of Mr. Ruskin's criticisms on the French school of painting makes the following appreciation of Claude very noteworthy:—"He had a fine feeling for beauty of form and considerable tenderness of perception. His aerial effects are unequalled. Their character appears to me to arise rather from a delicacy of bodily constitution in Claude than from any mental

sensibility: such as they are, they give a kind of feminine charm to his work, which partly accounts for its wide influence. To whatever the character may be traced, it rendered him incapable of enjoying or painting anything energetic or terrible. Hence the weakness of his conception of rough sea. He had sincerity of purpose, but, in common with other landscape painters of his day, neither earnestness, humility, nor love, such as would ever cause him to forget himself. That is to say, so far as he felt the truth, he tried to be true; but he never felt it enough to sacrifice supposed propriety or habitual method to it." *

Of Poussin "the Oxford graduate" thus speaks: "The landscape of Nicolas Poussin shows much power, and is usually composed and elaborated on right principles; but I am aware of nothing that it has attained of new or peculiar excellence. In finish it is inferior to Leonardo's, in invention to Giorgione's, in truth to Titian's, in grace to Raffaelle's." †

We have already noticed that architecture was extensively cultivated during the reign of Louis XIII.; never, perhaps, had so many fine buildings been erected, so much done for the embellishment of the metropolis. Under the regency of Mary de' Medici, a number of convents and private residences (*hôtels*) were planned and finished; thus Henry de Lorraine, Duke de Mayenne, had his mansion in the Rue Saint Antoine; the Duke de

* *Modern Painters*, v. 249. † *Ibid.* ii. 88.

Créquy boasted of his, Rue des Poulies, near the Louvre; Marshal d'Ancre inhabited a splendid house in the Rue de Tournon, near the Luxembourg; it is now transformed into barracks for the republican guard.

The palace of the Luxembourg itself belongs to that epoch, and is one of the most noteworthy evidences of that taste for the fine arts which Mary de' Medici had brought over with her from Italy. The Louvre, that palace of the kings of France, had, more than once, been beautified and enlarged since its origin; but it still retained the chief characteristics of a feudal *château*, and was too gloomy to suit the taste of a princess accustomed to light, to air, and to gracefulness. Mary de' Medici, in fact, wanted a palace expressly built for herself, and she commissioned De Brosse, nephew of Androuet du Cerceau, to draw the plans and superintend the building of the new edifice, which is still one of the most elegant monuments of southern Paris. Jacques (or rather Solomon) de Brosse, thus called to distinguish him from his uncle, had obtained great reputation by having directed the construction of the Huguenot church at Charenton; he was not the only architect in the family, and several De Brosses in the sixteenth century had risen to considerable fame through their skill in that profession. Thus, Jean de Brosse, generally supposed to be Solomon's brother, filled in 1578 the post of architect-secretary to the queen Marguerite de Navarre, and he had built for her the

magnificent *hôtel* in the Rue des Petits Augustins, which she occupied till the day of her death. Solomon de Brosse has left a great many monuments of his genius and his architectural skill; the aqueduct of Arcueil is his; the *château* of Coulommiers, in the province of Brie, and some of the finest Paris *hôtels*, the porch of the church of Saint Gervais, likewise in Paris, were built from his designs; but the best specimen, if not of his talent, certainly of his ingenuity, was the large hall of the Palais de Justice, which had been destroyed by fire in 1618. The proportions of that hall were of the grandest kind, and it was of the utmost importance that they should be preserved; De Brosse managed this difficult problem with the greatest success, and at the same time he contrived to substitute, instead of the Gothic character of the old structure, a Greco-Roman design more in harmony with the taste of the age. Finally, he very prudently replaced the original wooden roof by a stone one, which minimized considerably the danger of fire. Solomon de Brosse died in 1626; he enjoyed the title of architect to the queen-mother and to the king, together with a yearly salary of 2400 livres.

We have already alluded in a previous chapter to the reforms which, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, took place in the bosom of the Gallican Church; new religious orders were created, the existing ones underwent important modifications, and thus in every instance it was

necessary either to provide new buildings, or to repair and enlarge those which subsisted then; to say nothing of restoring the churches, schools, and monasteries which had been destroyed during the civil wars. In many cases the architects employed belonged to the various religious communities which ordered these constructions; thus a Jesuit father, named Martel Ange, supplied the drawings of the Jesuit church in Paris; he had taken as his model the church of the *Gesu* at Rome, built by Vignole, and considered the finest model of Italian sixteenth-century architecture.

The enumeration of the leading French architects of the reign of Louis XIII. must include Pierre le Muet (1591–1669), François Mansart (1598–1660), and especially Jacques le Mercier (1585–1654). This distinguished artist had spent most profitably several years in Italy, when he was appointed architect to the king (1618), with a pension of twelve hundred livres. It is always a difficult and invidious work to have to complete what other people have begun; it generally leads to a fresh application of the famous *sic vos non vobis*, and calls forth more criticism than commendation. Entrusted with the enlargement and continuation of the Louvre, Le Mercier, however, acquitted himself of his delicate task with such success that he immediately rose to fame, and Cardinal Richelieu left him the sole and exclusive responsibility of the building of the Palais Cardinal. Another work of Le Mercier was the college of Sorbonne, more

particularly the chapel, which he transformed into the present church, the style of which is both simple and elegant. Let us also name the church of the convent of the Oratory and the church of Saint Roch, both in Paris. He had, moreover, supplied the plans and made the preliminary arrangements for the erection of the Val-de-Grâce, but he did not live long enough to bring that work to completion. Le Mercier's most formidable rival was François Mansart, whose special qualities were variety and imagination in his plans, and great rapidity in their execution. His principal works are the restoration of the Hôtel Carnavalet in Paris, the *châteaux* of Maisons, Berny, Bercy, Balleroy, the *hôtels* of Conti, Bouillon, Fieubet, etc. Mansart it was who had at first been directed to build the Val-de-Grâce, but his plans having been found fault with, he firmly refused to alter them, and then the undertaking was given over to Le Mercier.

We must not forget, in this brief list, Clement Metezeau (1581–1652), the famous constructor of the great dyke which assisted Richelieu so much in the taking of La Rochelle; he was, however, more of an engineer than an architect. Charles Errard (1606–1689), after beginning in the architectural career, ended as a painter. Louis le Vau (d. 1670), chief commissioner of the highways (*grand voyer*) and inspector of his majesty's buildings at Fontainebleau, left also behind him a certain reputation for skill and artistic finish. Frémin de Cotte, Pierre Dubois, Michel

Villedo, and Auguste Gilluin deserve also to be mentioned.

From architecture to sculpture the transition is an easy one; a mere walk through the parks of Versailles, Fontainebleau, and Saint Germain shows at once how rich the French seventeenth century was in treasures of that description, to say nothing of the masterpieces preserved in the churches, private residences, and museums. Henry IV., so fond of the fine arts, and so liberal in his encouragement of them, had attracted to France a number of distinguished men in every speciality; the unsettled state of the country, however, during the minority of Louis XIII., had the effect of scattering in foreign parts all artists who enjoyed a certain amount of reputation, and at the time when Cardinal Richelieu came to power the only sculptors residing in France were Toussaint Chenu and Guillain, renamed *De Cambray*, from the place of his birth. The former of these artists is chiefly known by the bronze figures which he made for the fountains on the Place de Grève (Paris). Guillain-Cambray (1581–1658) was the author of a monumental tomb designed for the chapel of the Minims. It excited universal admiration at the time when it was first produced, and most of the old historians of Paris allude to it in very flattering terms. Wood-carving, required as it was for the decoration of churches, was also much in demand, and the Cambray artist found continual occupation in that speciality.

However able Guillain-Cambray may have been in his art, his reputation rests principally on the pupils he trained, and amongst them a special notice must be reserved for his son, Simon Guillain, and Jacques Sarrazin, a native of Noyon. "These two artists, after having executed some works of an ecclesiastical character, went off together to Italy, with the view of studying the masterpieces of antiquity and of the Renaissance period. At that time Michael Angelo was the *maestro* whose style was most popular, and whose compositions all students aimed at imitating. The first productions of the two friends, executed at Rome, were close copies of the great Florentine artist. Sarrazin was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Domenichino, to learn painting under his direction, and thus insensibly accustomed himself to a simple and more graceful style of art."* Guillain was the first to return to Paris; he soon rose into celebrity, and assembled in his studio a large number of pupils, including the two brothers, François and Michel Anguier, who did so much to raise to perfection the French school of sculpture. Guillain's bronze statues of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria are still to be seen at the museum of the Louvre. He became one of the first founders of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture.

Jacques Sarrazin remained in Italy for the space of eighteen years; his success there was of the most brilliant description, and it was not without

* P. Lacroix, *Le XVII.e Siècle : Lettres, Sciences, et Arts.*

much hesitation that he made up his mind to return to his native country. He found on his arrival that the tide of popularity had turned in favour of a Flemish artist, François Duquesnoy (1594–1646), whose carvings in bronze, marble, ivory, and wood, after having created the most unheard-of enthusiasm in Italy, were now much appreciated by the Paris *virtuosi*. Richelieu, as a matter of fact, was so thoroughly struck by their perfections, that he proposed to Duquesnoy to settle in Paris and create there a school of sculpture. Whether the offer was refused or simply forgotten does not appear; at any rate, Duquesnoy died shortly after in Italy, poisoned, it is said, by his own brother.

Simon Guillain made a great deal of money by his works; he was extremely active, and, besides, he employed a number of pupils who carried on his compositions in bronze, marble, wood, and stone. The principal statues which he did himself were those of the portal of Saint Gervais; the figures which decorate the high altar of the Minims in the Place Royale, including a magnificent statue of the Virgin; the statues belonging to the portal of the church of the Sorbonne, and, later on, the monument raised to the memory of Louis XIII., near the approach to the Pont au Change (Paris).

The brothers Anguier remain to be mentioned; they were the sons of a carpenter, and manifested at an early age such a disposition for artistic pursuits, that they were sent to Paris with a view of

studying under Guillain. François then went to England, where he raised money enough by his talent to enable him to go to Italy. There he made the acquaintance of several eminent painters, such as Poussin, Mignard, Dufresnoy, etc.; and after a residence of two years in Rome, he returned to Paris, and obtained from Louis XIII. apartments at the Louvre, together with the post of curator of the *Musée des Antiques*. The chief works of François Anguier were designed for the Paris churches. They comprise a statue of Cardinal de Bérulle (formerly in the Oratoire, Rue Saint Honoré); a monumental pyramid, with trophies, statues, etc., in honour of the Longueville family; the statue of the Duke de Rohan-Chabot, etc. Some of these compositions are now in the museum of the Petits Augustins. The principal work of Anguier is the mausoleum he raised to the memory of the ill-fated Duke de Montmorency, whose condemnation and death we have previously described. It had been ordered for the convent of the nuns of Saint Mary at Moulins, and although it belongs to a later period (1658), yet, as it was his masterpiece, we thought we could not leave it unmentioned.

Michel Anguier obtained even more reputation than his brother; he, too, made the classical journey to Italy, but without any resources than those which his talent gave him, and on his arrival at Rome he was fortunate enough to attract the notice of a distinguished artist, who introduced him to some rich families, for whom he did important

works, besides contributing to the embellishment of the church of Saint Peter. The productions with which he enriched his native country are posterior to the death of Richelieu, and it is only in 1686 that Michel Anguier died in Paris, at the ripe age of seventy-four, after a glorious career as an artist, loved and respected by all who knew him.

Medal-engraving was particularly encouraged by Louis XIII. and Richelieu; Guillaume Dupré first, and then Jean Varin, his pupil, carried it to a state of perfection which has never been surpassed; and, in connection with this part of our subject, we may remark that the whole monetary system of France, then in a state of almost hopeless disorder, was revised and settled upon a proper basis.

The catalogue of engravers, properly so called, includes many distinguished artists; such are the two Audrans (Karle and Claude), Abraham Bosse, and Michel Lasne. Abraham Bosse has written on the art of engraving a work which was very popular at the time when it appeared; he treated all sorts of subjects—historical, popular, serious, grotesque—and might be compared to Callot, of whom we shall speak presently, if there were more variety in his compositions, more life, more *entrain*. We have often admired in museums and private collections the beautiful portraits of historical characters which belong to the early seventeenth century. Balthazar Moncornet, Tavernier, Henri Chéron, Gabriel Vouillemont, are the artists to

which we owe these masterpieces; nor must we imagine that Paris had the monopoly of good engravers. Tours could boast of its Claude Vignon; Mantes of its Pierre Brebiette; Toulouse of its Hilaire Pradet; Châteaudun of its Nicolas Chapron; Nancy of its Jacques Callot.

We have kept for the last Jacques Callot, who combined the qualities of painter, draughtsman and engraver, and who is, perhaps, in the fine arts, the best representative of the reign of Louis XIII. Without being what we should call now a *Bohemian*, Jacques Callot led the life of a merry, easy-going companion, enjoying his days of sunshine, and managing to get without much anxiety through his hours of depression and penury. The early life of Callot was one of the most romantic description; he met with adventures sufficient enough in number and exciting enough in character to supply the materials of a novel. Finally he settled down at Nancy, his native place, and refusing the brilliant offers made to him by Pope Urban VIII., the Emperor of Ferdinand, and Louis XIII., he preferred devoting himself entirely to the pursuit of his art, in the province where his earliest recollections and affections were centred. The patriotism of Callot was equal to his extraordinary talent. The King of France ordered him to draw and etch the representation of the siege of La Rochelle, and the taking of the isle of Ré. He consented at once; but when he was requested to commemorate in the same manner the siege of Nancy by the

French, he refused in the plainest terms. "I had rather," answered he, "cut off my own thumb than do anything contrary to the honour of my prince and my country." So noble an answer could not but commend itself to a monarch who appreciated dignity of character and patriotic feelings. Louis XIII. immediately offered Callot a pension of three thousand livres, and a place in the royal household; but the painter was too fond of his liberty to accept even so tempting a proposal, and he remained at Nancy, where he died at a comparatively early age. It would take us too long to enumerate Callot's works; we may just say that they are all characterized by an amount of *verve* we seldom meet with, and the only modern French artist who at all reminds us of him is Charlet. In representing the comic side even of serious subjects, Callot has never been surpassed; he excels in giving us the exaggerated or caricature likeness of the insolent *reiter*, the soldier of fortune who followed Wallenstein, Tilly, or Montecocolli during the vicissitudes of the Thirty Years' War, the siege of Magdeburg, and the battle of Lutzen. His spirited and delicate etchings are never coarse or vulgar, even when he seems to allow full swing to his wit. In one word, he is *par excellence* the artist of the early seventeenth century. His *Supplices*, his *Malheurs et Misères de la Guerre*, his *Gueux contrefaits*, are the best illustrations possible of the memoirs of Bassompierre, D'Aubigné's *Baron de Fæneste*, and Sorel's *Histoire de Francion*. Callot's

works comprise a thousand pieces; the most striking in point both of conception and execution being *La Fête de la Madone de l'Impruneta,* the view of the Pont-Neuf in Paris, and especially that extraordinary engraving which represents the temptation of Saint Anthony.

Music occupied a very prominent part in the pastimes of the court during the reign of Louis XIII. This monarch was himself an excellent musician. On Shrove Tuesday of the year 1618 he danced in a ballet containing a tune which he had composed, and the harmony of which was written by Beauchamp, one of the twenty-four violins of the royal household. A four-part song of his, elegantly written, and quite correct from the scientific point of view, has been published by Kircher; several manuscript compositions still exist testifying to his skill. He wrote a few hunting tunes, and even set to music some of the psalms. Godeau, in his *Paraphrase des Psaumes de David,* writes as follows:— "The late king, of glorious memory, had not disdained to employ on four of my psalms the perfect knowledge he had of that fine art; these compositions have been published, and the best masters admire them."

The fashion of ballet-music which had already manifested itself in France during the reigns of the last three Valois, and that of Henry IV., rose to a very high standard under Louis XIII. The instrumental resources available were not, of course, what they are to-day; but the names of

several excellent performers on the violin have reached us, more particularly that of Guillaume du Manoir, who delighted Louis XIII. so much, that the king created for him the office of *Roi des violons*, giving him at the same time a patent by virtue of which he could, for a payment of ten livres, deliver certificates to students and *virtuosi* duly qualified to teach, play at concerts, etc., etc. Music, thus encouraged, made rapid progress, and the list of distinguished professionals during the first half of the seventeenth century is a long and respectable one.

Architecture, painting, sculpture, drawing, music —we have thus enumerated the various branches of what is generally known by the name of the fine arts; but there are still a few words to be said about the application of these arts to domestic uses —to the embellishment of houses, and to decorative purposes. The epoch of the Valois marked the transition from feudal structures, when everything was sacrificed to the eventualities of war and the necessities of personal safety, to the elegant palaces and *hôtels* built on the supposition that peace was the normal condition of society, and that the State, not private individuals, had to provide for the means of security at home as well as against foreign enemies. The building of new mansions in the Renaissance style went on *pari passu* with the modification and readjusting of old fortresses, so as to meet the requirements of a more civilized and refined state of society. Even in the most cele-

brated *hôtels* anterior in point of date to the era of Louis XIII., the apartments were often badly contrived and awkwardly connected with each other. To the Marchioness de Rambouillet belongs the honour of introducing a complete revolution in the plan and arrangement of houses; she had become the owner of the Hôtel d'O, in Paris, and, thanks to her excellent taste, she transformed it so thoroughly that all persons who wanted to remodel their establishments took as their guide the *incomparable Arthénice*. Even the queen, Mary de' Medici, directed the architects and workmen employed in building the palace of the Luxembourg to inspect the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and borrow from thence ideas and suggestions for the important work upon which they were engaged. Jean Lepautre, and after him André Charles Boule, acquired great and deserved reputation for the elegant style of the furniture which they supplied to the nobility and the *haute bourgeoisie*. Petitot's enamels have still retained all their value; the French goldsmiths (Ballin, Germain, Cousinet), the jewellers (Grégoire, Jacquin, D'Arce), and the watchmakers (Gribelin, Jean Toutin, Martineau Truchet) were equal in skill to the best Italian artists. The celebrated tapestries made at the Gobelins are also identified with a branch of artistic industry which should not be forgotten; they are exclusively or almost exclusively mentioned at the present day; but during the reign of Louis XIII. the Gobelins' manufacture found a

formidable rival in that of the Savonnerie, established by Dupont and Lourdet, and protected by a *privilege* granted in 1627. The establishment known under the name of La Savonnerie was nothing else but an hospital, which Mary de' Medici created in 1615 for the maintenance of one hundred destitute children, whom the two associates had the excellent idea of training to tapestry-work.

From what we have thus said, we are led to conclude that the claims of Richelieu to the title of protector of literature and art leaves in the shade that of Louis XIV. Here, as well as in the sphere of politics and of administration, the cardinal-minister opened the way, and removed all the obstacles, in such a manner that *Le Grand Monarque* had only to follow in the track prepared for him. The difficulty and the glory of originating the work of reform belong exclusively to Richelieu.

In a letter quoted by M. Guizot,* the poet Malherbe thus expresses himself:—

"You know that my humour is neither to flatter nor to lie; but I swear to you that there is in this man (Richelieu) a something which surpasses humanity, and that if our bark is ever to outride the tempests, it will be whilst this glorious hand holds the rudder. Other pilots diminish my fear; this one makes me unconscious of it. Hitherto, when he had to build anew or to repair some ruins,

* *History of France* (English translation), vol. iv. p. 175.

plaister alone was put in requisition. Now we see nothing but marble used; and whilst the counsels are judicious and faithful, the execution is diligent and magnanimous. Wit, judgment, and courage never existed in any man to the degree that they do in him. As for interest, he knows none but that of the public. To that he clings with a passion so unbridled, if I may dare so to speak, that the visible injury it does his constitution is not capable of detaining him from it. Sees he anything useful to the king's service, he goes at it without looking to one side or the other. Obstacles tempt him; resistance piques him, and nothing that is put in his way diverts him. The disregard he shows of self and of all that touches himself, as if he knew no sort of health or disease but the health or disease of the state, causes all good men to fear that his life will not be long enough for him to see the fruit of what he plants; and, moreover, it is quite evident that what he leaves undone can never be completed by any man that holds his place. Why, man, he does a thing because it has to be done! The space between the Rhine and the Pyrenees seems to him not field enough for the lilies of France. He would have them occupy the two shores of the Mediterranean, and waft their odours thence to the extremest countries of the East. Measure by the extent of his designs the extent of his courage."

No wonder that Richelieu thus impressed his contemporaries and fascinated them by his genius.

Those who recollected the civil wars, the struggles between the Crown and the League, the despicable weakness of Henry III., and the hard task which fell to the lot of Henry IV., could appreciate as it deserved the transcendent mind of the great cardinal. They might detest his policy, but they were completely awed by it; and the very noblemen who joined in the useless plots of Gaston d'Orléans could not help feeling proud at having for their master him who had placed France in the foremost rank of European nations.

Any reader who studies attentively the history of France cannot help noticing the progress of monarchical ideas since the fourteenth century. Between the reigns of Philip Augustus and Philip VI. (de Valois), a powerful landed aristocracy covered the soil. Gradually it had to make way for the authority of the Crown; bailiffs, seneschals, parliaments, law-courts, stepped in, taking advantage of every blunder committed by the feudal lords, finding their way to every position their adversaries had been compelled to abandon, and substituting the old Roman theories of government instead of the principles of independence which the Teutonic invaders had brought along with them. From the accession of the Valois to the sixteenth century, even in the midst of the greatest national calamities, this movement of centralization went on gaining strength day by day; and although, for a short space of time during the wars of religion, the aristocracy seemed on the point of regaining

the power they had lost, the irresistible force of circumstances asserted its rights, and the last vestiges of independence disappeared on the scaffold of 1632 with the ill-fated Montmorency.

By ruining for ever the power of the nobility, the balance was destroyed between the various elements which compose the state, and no *mezzo termine* was left between the despotism of the Crown and that of the mob. Could this have been avoided? or must we adopt the conclusion that the French are incapable of self-government? Without attempting to answer this question, we unhesitatingly say that the policy of Richelieu, continued by Mazarin and followed by Louis XIV., produced, as its natural result, the Revolution, and that every stage in the progress of the Revolution has fatally ended, and must for ever end, in the triumph of absolute rule. Richelieu had the great merit of identifying very frequently his own private interests with those of his country. When he was, perhaps, only exercising an act of petty revenge, he seemed to be doing away with some public scandal or eliminating some gross abuse; and his political calculations always helped on his passions, giving them a kind of patriotic sanction. Thanks to Richelieu, the word *state* was no longer a mere abstraction, but the symbol of national unity; to it all private interests must yield, before it all selfish designs must give way, and when the power and the welfare of France are at stake, everything else is to be held of no account. It is not difficult to see what dangerous

consequences such a theory carries along with it. The secret of Richelieu's popularity lies in the fact that he just stopped short of these consequences, and the hearty response which he met with from all those who had the good of the country really at heart amply justifies every act in his administration.

Against the sympathies of the *bourgeoisie*, what are the obstacles which the historian has to enumerate —the elements of resistance which the cardinal had to overcome? His life, as an eminent writer very aptly remarks, "was a tragic and heroic struggle with great problems and miserable foes, with obstinate meanness, pertinacious treachery, and the worst of all tyrannies—the tyranny of the weak." * Supported by his genius, he had to preserve his sway over a prince impatient of a subordinate position, to keep under incessant control an aristocracy always ready to rebel; nor did the nation even understand the real object of the sacrifices to which he obliged it, and which might at first sight appear both arbitrary and excessive. Seldom has the world seen a more striking instance of what the powerful will of one man can do when it is backed up by superior intellect, and when it is conscious that the aim it has in view is one which can stand the searching scrutiny of public opinion. Amongst real *kings*—Louis XI., Louis XIV., Napoleon I.—Richelieu must ever hold a prominent position. The eighteen years during

* Bridges, *France under Richelieu and Colbert*, p. 88.

which his administration lasted were for France an epoch of complete transformation. It is no exaggeration to say that at the time when he took in hand the helm of the State, disorder and misrule were at their height. The habits of rebellion and resistance to law resulting from the civil wars of the sixteenth century had to be eradicated, and the task was not an easy one. The only persons who felt anything like security were those whose profession was arms, and the nobility within the strongholds of their *châteaux*; but not merely did they have the consciousness of their safety; as they knew no law but violence, no right but might, they made use of their independent power for the purpose of annoying and oppressing the inhabitants of the rural districts. Despotism, as wielded by the aristocracy, crippled agriculture, industry, and trade; the privileged classes crushed those whose labour and productive power constitute the real strength of the nation. Thanks to Richelieu the pretensions of the *noblesse* were stamped out, and from his administration date, both the real strength of the royal authority, and the advent of the *bourgeoisie* to power.

The cardinal, we have already hinted, is often taxed with despotism, and from the point of view of the nineteenth century, the accusation is not unfounded; but despotism means the stamping out of liberty, and we must remember that during the reign of Louis XIII. liberty did not exist, unless it was the liberty for the upper classes to do

what they liked at the expense of the lower ones, and to set themselves above the power of the law. Richelieu delivered the people from the petty tyranny of the aristocracy, inspired them with the sense of their real dignity, and made of them the sinews of the nation. We readily acknowledge that the power of the Crown thus rose to a degree which seems to us exorbitant; but such a result was inevitable two hundred years ago, especially with the political organization which obtained in France.

No more privileges, not even for the clergy; they were, like the aristocracy, to contribute their share to the maintenance of the State and the dignity of the country. Officially connected with the Vatican, they must remember that their first duty was to France, and that, as citizens, they were answerable not to Rome, but to French tribunals. With Richelieu *Gallicanism* was not a word but a reality.

In the various departments of education, literature, and art, Richelieu was an intelligent and liberal patron; he reformed the exchequer, encouraged commerce, and introduced into the police and general administration of the State ameliorations which a long series of civil wars had rendered more and more needed.

But it is the foreign policy of Richelieu which has chiefly contributed to his glory, and to which no reproach can be addressed—by Frenchmen, at any rate. In a short time, notwithstanding the

doubts of his friends, and the persevering efforts of his enemies, he placed France at the head of the European nations, and by crushing the power of the house of Austria, he rendered to the cause of civilization the most signal of services. In short, he left behind him an army which gave lustre to the early days of the new reign, a fleet quite capable of holding its own against the navies of Holland and of England, finances adequate to face not only the wars but the prodigalities of Louis XIV., agents equal to the task of administering a large and flourishing country, and around the Crown itself a *prestige* which not even the wickedness of Louis XV. and the incapacity of Louis XVI. could manage to destroy.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

Page 3.—. . . *as can be imagined.* "On les (*the bishops*) voyait rarement porter la soutane et la croix d'or, 'comme s'ils eussent craint' disait l'évêque de Belley, 'd'être reconnus parmi les gens de dévotion.' Il en était de si étrangement chatouilleux sur le point d'honneur, qu'on les empêchait à grand'peine d'aller sur le pré croiser le fer avec quelque gentilhomme dont ils s'estimaient les offensés." (Houssaye, *Le Père de Bérulle*, p. 7.)

Page 7.—. . . *for war and foreign affairs.* On Concini and his wife, see Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, p. 130 (edit. 1862). "Pour luy (Concini), c'estoit un grand homme (*tall man*), ni beau, ni laid, et de mine assez passable ; il estoit audacieux, ou, pour mieux dire, insolent. Il mesprisoit fort les princes ; en cela il n'avoit pas grand tort. Il estoit liberal et magnifique . . . on ne l'a pas tenu pour vaillant." Concini was supposed to be the lover of Mary de' Medici. "Un jour," says Tallemant, "comme la Reyne-mère disoit : 'Apportez moy mon voile,' le comte du Lude, grandpère de celuy d'aujourd'huy, dit en riant : 'Un navire qui est *à l'ancre* n'a pas autrement besoin de voiles.'" The same author describes Leonora Galigaï as "une petite personne fort maigre et fort brune, mais de taille assez agréable et qui, quoyqu'elle eust tous les traits du visage beaux, estoit laide à cause de sa grande maigreur." When asked, during the course of her trial, what incantations she had made use of to fascinate the queen, she is reported to have answered : "Pas d'autre chose que du pouvoir qu'a une habile femme sur une balourde (*a fool*)."

Page 8—. . . *Marguerite, Duchess de Luxembourg-Piney.*

See Tallemant des Réaux, i. 277 : "Luynes avoit trois frères avec luy. L'un se nommoit Brante, l'autre Cadenet. Ils estoient tous trois beaux garçons. Cadenet, depuis duc de Chaulnes et maréchal de France, avoit la teste belle et portoit une moustache que de luy on a depuis appelé une *cadenette*. On disoit qu'à tous trois ils n'avoient qu'un bel habit qu'ils prenoient tour à tour pour aller au Louvre, et qu'ils n'avoient aussy qu'un bidet (*i.e.* one nag, from the Gaelic *bîdeach*, very small). During the time of de Luynes's power, the following epigram against him and his two brothers was circulated :—

> "D'enfer le chien à trois testes
> Garde l'huis (*i.e. gate*, from the L. *ostium*) avec effroy ;
> En France trois grosses bestes
> Gardent d'approcher le roy."

Page 14.— . . . *a worthless favourite, la Vieuville.* See Bassompierre's memoirs (edit. of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*) ". . . Le lendemain matin (August 13, 1624) le roy l'ayant envoyé (la Vieuville) quérir en son conseil, il luy dit . . . qu'il ne se vouloit plus servir de luy, et qu'il luy permettoit de luy dire adieu. Puis, en sortant, M. de Tremes (captain of the body-guard) le fit prisonnier, et peu après un carrosse et les mousquetaires du roy vindrent, qui l'emmenèrent au chasteau d'Amboise, d'où il se sauva un an après" (vol. iii. pp. 192, 193).

Page 21.—*We have selected her.* "Madame de Chevreuse n'avait pas seulement le génie et le goût de l'intrigue ; elle savait comprendre les arts et les encourager, et V. Cousin, dans l'étude qu'il lui a consacrée, a très bien fait ressortir les divers côtés de cette nature féminine, si étrange à la fois, et si complexe. Cette ex-frondeuse eut, entr'autres mérites dont la postérite doit lui tenir compte, celui de travailler à la fortune de Colbert, dont elle avait deviné la valeur, et à la fille duquel elle n' hésita pas à donner en mariage son petit-fils, le duc de Chevreuse." (La Rochefoucald, *Mémoires*, edit. Hachette, p. 4, note 3.)

Page 77.— . . . *possessed eminent qualities.* Cotton, who had been confessor to Henri IV., acquired so much influence over the mind of that monarch, that people used to say : "Notre prince est bon, *mais il a du coton dans les oreilles.*"

Page 78.— . . . *during the reign of Louis XII.* George d'Amboise was appointed legate by Alexander VI. He tried, but in vain, to become Pope.

Page 87.— . . . *from time immemorial.* Comp. Racine :—

"Ma robe vous fait honte; un fils de juge! Ah! fi!
Tu fais le gentilhomme! Eh! Dandin, mon ami,
Regarde dans ma chambre et dans ma garderobe
Les portraits des Dandin: tous ont porté la robe;
Et c'est le bon parti." (*Les Plaideurs*, l. 4.)

Page 88.— . . . *except pleasure and vanity.* Tallemant des Réaux gives an amusing instance of the vanity and impertinence of the noblemen of those days: "Le comte de Tonnerre, sous Henri IV., voyant qu'on ne vouloit pas le laisser entrer au Louvre en carrosse (il avoit eu un brevet de duc, mais non enregistré), ne fit faire à son château qu'une petite porte, au lieu d'une porte cochère, disant: 'Si le Roy ne veut pas que j'entre chez luy en carrosse, il n'entrera pas non plus en carrosse chez moy'" (iv.).

Page 96.— . . . *by moonlight, by torchlight.* To say nothing of the thieves who infested the streets of the metropolis. In 1621, a band of robbers was organized which, in a very short time, became most redoubtable. They wore a kind of uniform, one company being dressed in gray and styled *grisons;* the others, in red, were called *rougets.* Their hats were ornamented with a plume of feathers. They had, as their leader, a cruel and desperate *bravo*, who admitted as his followers only men inured to hardships of every kind, and as sanguinary as himself. Most of these highway robbers were disbanded soldiers who cared neither to work nor to beg. They could not be put down by the police except after a contest which lasted two years.

Page 108.—*Chancellor Châteauneuf* . . . was led to join the conspiracy by his absurd passion for the Duchess de Chevreuse. See V. Cousin, *Madame de Chevreuse*, chap. iii.

Page 111.— . . . *romantic nature.* See the memoirs of Montglat, i. p. 238.

Page 115.— . . . *than the least of his subjects.* Comp. M. Victor Hugo :—

"Moi le premier de France, en être le dernier!
Je changerais mon sort au sort d'un braconnier.

. . . . . .

Le manant est du moins maître et roi dans son bouge;
Mais toujours sous les yeux avoir cet homme rouge,
Toujours là, grave et dur, me disant à loisir:
'Sire! il faut que ceci soit votre bon plaisir!'
Dérision! cet homme au peuple me dérobe.
Comme on fait d'un enfant, il me met dans sa robe,

> Et quand un passant dit : ' Qu'est ce donc que je voi
> Dessous le Cardinal ? ' on répond ; ' C'est le Roi ! ' "
> (*Marion de Lorme*, iv. 6.)

Page 126.—*Cinq-Mars.* Madame de Motteville says : "Le Roi était tacitement le chef (du complot) Monsieur le Grand en étoit l'âme ; le nom dont on se servoit étoit celui du duc d'Orléans . . . et leur conseil étoit le duc de Bouillon, qui s'y engagea à cause qu'ayant été dans le parti du comte de Soissons, il étoit fort mal à la cour . . . Monsieur le Grand, ne se fiant pas tout à fait à l'amitié et à la force du Roi, voulut avoir une armée pour défendre Sédan, que le duc de Bouillon leur donna pour place de sûreté " (i. p. 72).

On the conspiracy and the trial of Cinq-Mars, see—

La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*, 42–46.

Montrésor, *Mémoires*, p. 337.

Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*, i. chap. iv.

Relation de Fontrailles. M. Petitot has printed, by way of sequel, the text of the treaty concluded with Spain (March 13, 1642), and a letter addressed by M. de Marca to M. de Brienne on the trial.

Interrogatoire fait à Monsieur le Grand et à M. de Thou, prisonniers au château de Pierre-Encise à Lyon, le 9 Septembre, 1642. (*Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France*, series 2, vol. v.)

De Thou was condemned, *not* because he approved of the conspiracy, "*Car*," says Madame de Motteville, "il l'avoit même tout à fait désapprouvé," but because he did not reveal what he knew about it. Cardinal Richelieu, besides, did not like him.

Page 147.—The year 1636 was commonly called *l'année de Corbie*, in consequence. The governors of la Capelle, le Câtelet, and Corbie were drawn and quartered in effigy for having surrendered to the enemy. See *Mémoires de la Force*, iii. 22. John Van Weerth had become for all Frenchmen a kind of Blue-beard, and his name occurs in all the poems of the day. Scarron writes (*Typhon*) :—

> "On dit que quelques bons esprits
> Ordonnèrent qu'on fît des grilles
> Pour se garantir des soudrilles
> Du redoutable Jean de Vert."

When he had been made a prisoner at the battle of Rheinfeld, he was shut up at Vincennes, where all the Parisian *badauds*

used to go and see, as they would have done a wild animal, him whom they so dreaded once. See in M. Fournier's *Variétés Historiques*, vii., 199–204, the curious piece entitled : *Le pot aux Rozes découvert du plaisant voyage fait par quelques curieux au bois de Vincennes, à dessein de voir Jean de Werth, et ce qui s'en est ensuivi.* Now perfectly certain that John van Weerth could do them no harm, the Parisians turned him into ridicule in a number of songs, and the expression, *Je m'en soucie comme de Jean de Werth*, was freely used in the sense of *I don't care a straw for . . .*

Page 170.— . . . *the nomination.* Father Joseph was satirized quite as much as his master. The following epitaph upon him may be quoted as a specimen :

> " Victime de l'ambition,
> Ci-gît d'Armand le Secrétaire,
> Qui si bien sut toujours se taire,
> Qu'il mourut sans confession."

Page 183.— . . . *La Miliade* or, rather, *Milliade,* thus called because it consists of one thousand lines, has often been reprinted ; the reader will find it in M. E. Fournier's *Variétés Historiques et Littéraires*, ix. 1–46 ; the real title is : *Le Gouvernement Présent, ou Éloge de son Éminence ;* the probable author was Louis d'Épinay, Abbé de Chartrice, and Count d'Estelan (see La Porte, *Mémoires*, p. 356). Richelieu was persuaded that all the pamphlets published against him were printed at Brussels : "Il en eut un tel dépit," says Tallemant des Réaux, " que cela ne contribua pas peu à faire déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne ; " and, in a note : " L'écrit qui l'a le plus fait enrager, a été cette satire de mille vers. . . . Il fit emprisonner bien des gens pour cela, mais n'en put rien découvrir." La Porte (*Mémoires*) says that four or five persons were sent to the Bastille as supposed authors of the *Miliade.* The following *rondeau* is an excellent specimen of the satirical pieces composed against the cardinal :—

> " *Il est passé*, il a plié bagage,
> Ce cardinal ; dont c'est moult grand dommage
> Pour sa maison : c'est comme je l'entends ;
> Car pour autrui, maints hommes sont contents,
> En bonne foi de n'en voir que l'image.
> Sous sa faveur, il enrichit son lignage
> Par dons, par vols, par fraude et mariage ;
> Mais aujourd'hui, ce n'en est plus le temps ;
> *Il est passé.*

"Or parlerons sans crainte d'être en cage ;
Il est en plomb, l'éminent personnage,
Qui de nos maux a ri plus de vingt ans.
Le roi de bronze en eut le passe-temps,
Quand sur le pont, à (avec) tout son attelage *
Il est passé."

Page 188.—We give in the tables at the end of the volume, the budget of the State for 1639. In M. Fournier's *Variétés Historiques* (vi. 85–130) will be found an extremely curious document (*Sommaire traicté du revenu et despence des finances de France, ensemble les pensions de nos seigneurs et dames de la cour*), which is nothing else but the budget for 1623.

Page 188.— . . . *of the croquants.* Palma-Cayet says (Petitot, series i. xiii. p. 222), "Du commencement, on appela ce peuple mutiné les *tard-avisez*, parceque l'on disoit qu'ils s'advisoient trop tard de prendre les armes, veu que chacun n'aspiroit plus qu'à la paix, et ce peuple appeloit la noblesse *croquans*, disant qu'ils ne demandoient qu'à *croquer* le peuple." Other etymologies : *Croc* = hook, the rough weapon which the peasants made use of ; *Crocq*, name of a parish in the province of La Marche (arrondissement of Aubusson, where the rebellion first originated). The word *croquant* was for a long time the synonym of *paysan*. See La Fontaine's fable, *La Colombe et la Fourmi:* "Passe certain *croquant* qui marchait les pieds nus."

Page 238.— . . . *members of the Pleiad.* The members of the French sixteenth century *Pleiad* were Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Dorat, Rémy Belleau, Jodelle, Baïf, Pontus de Thyard (or, according to another version, Amadis Jamyn and Du Bartas).

Page 239.— . . . *the cavalier Marino ;* one example will show the nature of the *concetti* so dear to the *Marinist school:* in a poem on the subject of Pompey, it is said that the executioner had to strike the hero several times, *because his soul was too great to leave the body through one wound* :—

"Percha libera aver non puo l'uscita
Per una sola piaga alma si grande."

Malherbe's beautiful couplet—

"Et Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses,
L'espace d'un matin,"

* Allusion to the fact that the funeral procession of Cardinal Richelieu had to pass before the bronze statue of Henry IV., erected on the Pont-neuf.

in its original form was a childish and affected *concetto* :—

"Et ne pouvoit Rosette être mieux que les roses
Qui ne vivent qu'un jour."

Page 244.—*Madrigaux.* See V. Cousin : *La Société Française au XVII^e Siècle*, ii. 279, and following. We give Conrart's madrigal; it is a fine specimen of the whole *recueil* :—

"Pour mériter un cachet si joli,
Si bien gravé, si brillant, si poli,
Il faudroit avoir, ce me semble,
Quelque joli secret ensemble.
Car enfin les jolis cachets
Demandent de jolis secrets,
Ou du moins de jolis billets.
Mais comme je n'en sais point faire,
Que je n'ai rien qu'il faille taire,
Ni qui mérite aucun mystère,
Il faut vous dire seulement
Que vous donnez si galamment,
Qu'on ne peut se défendre
De vous donner son cœur, ou de le laisser prendre."

Page 244.— . . . *the "incomparable Arthénice."* Fléchier styles her thus in the funeral oration he pronounced on the occasion of her death.

Page 247.— . . . *in cheering the author.* Small country towns had their *précieux* and *précieuses* as well as Paris. Chappelle and Bachaumont, in their amusing *Voyage en Provence et en Languedoc*, describing their arrival at Montpellier, say : "Nous trouvâmes grand nombre de dames qu'on nous dit être les plus polies, les plus qualifiées, et les plus spirituelles de la ville, quoique pourtant elles ne fussent ni trop belles, ni trop bien mises. A leur petites mignardises, à leur parler gras et leurs discours extraordinaires, nous crûmes bientôt que c'étoit une assemblée des Précieuses de Montpellier ; mais, bien qu'elles fissent de nouveaux efforts à cause de nous, elles ne paroissoient que des Précieuses de campagne, et n'imitoient que faiblement les nôtres de Paris."

Page 256.— . . . *or guided by jealousy.* His liberality to men of letters is humorously alluded to in the following epitaph, composed by the poet Benserade :—

"Cy gist, ouy, gist, par la mort-bleu!
Le Cardinal de Richelieu,
Et, ce qui cause mon ennui,
Ma pension avecque luy."

Page 266.— . . . *the threatened conjunction.* The following quotation is an extract from Voiture's amusing letter :— "En un temps où la fortune joue des tragédies par tous les endroits de l'Europe, je ne vois rien si digne de pitié, que quand je vois que l'on est prêt de chasser et faire le procès à un mot qui a si utilement servi cette monarchie, et qui, dans toutes les brouilleries du royaume, s'est toujours montré bon Français. Pour moi, je ne puis comprendre quelles raisons ils pourront alléguer contre une diction qui marche toujours à la tête de la raison, et qui n'a point d'autre charge que de l'introduire. Je ne sais pour quel intérêt ils tâchent d'ôter à *car* ce qui lui appartient pour le donner à *pour ce que,* ni pourquoi ils veulent dire avec trois mots ce qu'ils peuvent dire avec trois lettres. Ce qui est le plus à craindre, mademoiselle, c'est qu'après cette injustice, on en entreprendra d'autres. On ne fera point de difficulté d'attaquer *mais,* et je ne sais si *si* demeurera en sûreté. De sorte qu'après nous avoir ôté toutes les paroles qui lient les autres, les beaux esprits nous voudront réduire au langage des anges, ou, si cela ne se peut, il nous obligeront au moins à ne parler que par signes."

Page 269.— . . . *as a composer of tragedies.* One short extract from *Mirame* will suffice to show what trouble Richelieu and his *collaborateurs* took to appear witty.

Arimant, the lover, is so struck by Mirame's beauty, that he cannot find words adequate to express his feelings :—

> "Vous causez mon silence, et lorsque je vous voy,
> Pour être tout en vous, je suis tout hors de moy ;
> Devant l'aimable objet des beautés que j'admire
> Ayant trop à penser, je ne sçay que vous dire."

At the end of the scene both Arimant and Mirame faint away, quite overcome by their feelings :—

> "*Mir.* Le jour commence à naître ; il faut se retirer.
> *Ar.* Non ! non ! Ce sont vos yeux qui font cette lumière.
> *Mir.* Le soleil toutefois commence sa carrière.
> *Ar.* Ah ! soleil trop jaloux, ou plein de vanité,
> Tu crois sur l'horizon faire voir ta beauté ;
> Sais-tu bien qu'en éclat Mirame te surmonte ?
> Ne te montre pas tant pour paraître à ta honte.
> Ah ! retarde un moment, cesse un peu de courir,
> Hélas ! tu fais tout vivre, et tu me fais mourir !
> *Mir.* C'est trop ; retirez-vous.
> *Ar.* Adieu donc, ma lumière,
> Je ne puis vous quitter. Quittez-moi la première.

Mir. Que ne puis-je plutôt me noyer dans mes pleurs!
Adieu donc!
Ar. Ah! ma vie! Ah! mon âme! Ah! je meurs!"

Page 312.— . . . *could manage to destroy.* The wretched poet Chapelain rose to eloquence one day, when appreciating Richelieu:—

"Ils (les poètes) chantent nos courses guerrières,
Qui, plus rapides que le vent,
Nous ont acquis, en te suivant,
La Meuse et la Rhin pour frontières.
Ils disent qu'au bruit de tes faits,
Le Danube crut désormais,
N'être pas, en son antre, assuré de nos armes,
Qu'il redouta le joug, frémit dans ses roseaux,
Pleura de nos succès, et, grossi de ses larmes,
Plus vîte vers l'Euxin précipita ses eaux."

The following judgment passed by Bossuet is also worth quoting: "Le grand Cardinal de Richelieu achevoit son glorieux ministère, et finissoit tout ensemble une vie pleine de merveilles. Sous sa ferme et prévoyante conduite, la puissance d'Autriche cessoit d'être redoutée, et la France, sortie enfin des guerres civiles, donnoit le branle aux affaires de l'Europe. On avoit une attention particulière à celles d'Italie, et, sans parler des autres raisons, Louis XIII., de glorieuse et triomphante mémoire, devoit sa protection à la Duchesse de Savoie, sa sœur, et à ses enfants . . ." (*Oraison funèbre du Chancelier le Tellier.*)

STATISTICAL LISTS ILLUSTRATING THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

(Tables III., V., VI., and part of VII., are taken from Viscount d'Avenel's work.)

TABLE I.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

The documents illustrating the reign of Louis XIII. and the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu are extremely numerous. 1. We have the *ex-professo* biographies and histories already criticised in our preface. 2. The correspondence of the cardinal himself, published by M. Avenel in the *Recueil de Documents Inédits*, is a most scholarly work, annotated with the greatest care, and throwing abundant light on every point in Richelieu's policy. 3. We must not forget the almost countless squibs, lampoons, satires, panegyrics, and other broadsheets and pamphlets of every description, the mere list of which would fill a small volume, and which the reader will find entered in the printed catalogue of the Paris National Library. 4. The memoirs and autobiographies enumerated in the following pages, and which are easily accessible to every student. They have either been printed separately, or as parts of the collections edited by the *Société de l'Histoire de France* (S.H.F.); Messrs. Petitot and Monmerqué (P. ii. second series, 79 vols. 8vo); and Michaud and Poujoulat (Mi. i. ii. iii., three series, 32 vols. 8vo). A certain number of interesting items occur also in Messrs. Cimber and Danjou's *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* (series 1, 15 vols. 8vo).

1. *Relation faite par Maître Jacques Gillot de ce qui se passa au Parlement touchant la Régence de la Reine Marie de Médicis* [1610], Mi. i. 11, P. i. 49. Gillot, one of the *collaborateurs* of the Satire Ménippée, was more than seventy years old when he died in Paris, Jan. 1, 1619.

2. *Mémoires du Marquis de Beauvais Nangis* [1562–1641], S.H.F.

3. *Journal du Procès de la Boulaye* [Maximilien Échalard, December, 1649—May, 1650], S.H.F.

4. *Mémoire Fidèle des Choses qui se sont passées à la Mort de Louis XIII., par Dubois, l'un des valets de chambre de S.M.* [1643], Mi. i. 11.

5. *Mémoires et Correspondance de Jacques Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force* [1572–1640]. "Contient des renseignements précieux sur des points particuliers" (Poirson).

6. *Mémoires et Journal de Pierre de l'Estoile.—Règne de Louis XIII., Roy de France et de Navarre* [1610–1611], Mi. ii. 1, P. 45–49. Pierre de l'Estoile (? 1540–1611), one of the most amusing memoir writers. M. Weiss says of him (*Biog. Universelle*), "Le journal de l'Estoile est un des livres les plus précieux qu'on puisse lire sur les règnes dont il a traité."

7. *Mélanges Diplomatiques du Président Jeannin* [1595–1623], Mi. ii. 4, P. ii. 16.

8. *Mémoires de François Duval, Marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil* [1609–1647], Mi. ii. 5, P. i. 50, 51. "Mémoires Intéressants" (Lalanne).

9. *Mémoires de P. Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain* [1610–1620], Mi. ii. 5, P. 16, 17. "Intéressants et Exacts" (Weiss).

10. *Mémoires du Duc de Rohan* [1610–1637], Mi. ii. 5, P. ii. 19, 21. "Ces mémoires, fort estimés des gens de guerre, ne sont pas moins remarquables pas les vues politiques ; le style, plein de concision et d'énergie, place l'auteur au nombre des meilleurs écrivains de son temps" (Durozoir).

11. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Bassompierre* [1579–1640], S.H.F. "La publication de ces mémoires a jeté un grand jour sur les événements de ce temps là" (Durozoir).

12. *Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrées* [1610–1621], Mi. ii. 16 "Ces mémoires, mal écrits, sont curieux et instructifs, d'autant que l'auteur ne parle que des affaires auxquelles il a coopéré" (Tabaraud).

13. *Mémoires du Sieur de Pontis* [1597–1652], Mi. ii. 6, P. ii. 31. "On ne peut nier que cet ouvrage (rédigé par Thomas Dufossé) écrit d'un style facile et naturel, n'offre tout l'intérêt et le merveilleux du roman ; mais le tort de l'auteur, c'est de l'avoir donné pour une histoire" (Weiss).

14. *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* [1600–1638], Mi. ii. 7–9, P. ii. 21 *bis*, 30. "De la plus haute importance" (Lalanne). "Il s'y trouve des portraits tracés d'une main ferme, et des faits curieux qui n'ont pu être connus que d'un homme initié dans les affaires de l'état, et admis dans l'intérieur de la famille royale" (D'Aillecourt).

15. *Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly* [1600–1656], Mi. ii. 9, P. ii. 33, 34. "Plein de candeur et d'intérêt" (Noel).

16. *Mémoires de l'Abbé Antoine Arnauld* [1634–1675], Mi. ii. 9, P. ii. 34.

17. *Mémoires de Gaston, Duc d'Orléans* [1608–1636], Mi. ii. 9, P. ii. 31. "Curieux et estimés" (Villenave).

18. *Mémoires de Madame de Motteville* [1630–1666], Mi. ii. 10, P. ii. 36–40. "Portent au plus haut degré, dans leur allure négligée, le caractère de la vérité" (Lalanne).

19. *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz* [1630–1655]. "Ses mémoires, aujourd'hui son grand titre de gloire, sont un des monument les plus remarquables de notre littérature" (Lalanne).

20. *Mémoires du Comte de Brienne, avec additions inédites* [1613–1661], Mi. iii. 3, P. ii. 35, 36. "On y trouve un grand nombre de faits curieux et d'anecdotes racontées avec beaucoup de franchise" (Weiss).

21. *Mémoires de Claude de Bourdeille, Comte de Montrésor* [1632–1637], Mi. iii. 3, P. ii. 54. "Intéressants par le ton de candeur et de bonne foi qui y règne" (Weiss).

22. *Relation faite par le Vicomte des Fontrailles* [1642], Mi. ii. 3, P. ii. 54. This document, which has often been reprinted, refers chiefly to the period of Cinq-Mars's favour at court.

23. *Mémoires du Comte de la Châtre* [1638–1643], Mi. iii. 3, P. ii. 51. "Détails curieux sur la fin du règne de Louis XIII. et sur le commencement de la régence."

24. *Mémoires du Comte de Coligny-Saligny* [1617–1690], S.H.F. His memoirs refer to the same epoch as those of La Châtre, and are very interesting.

25. *Mémoires de Henri de Campion.* "Pleins d'intérêt" (Lalanne).

26. *Lettres et Mémoires du Maréchal de Turenne* [1627–1658], Mi. iii. 3, "Ouvrage estimé" (Lalanne). Interesting, but having no special literary merit.

27. *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier* [1627–1688], Mi. iii. 4, P. ii. 40–43. "Très véridiques" (Sainte-Beuve).

28. *Mémoires du Marquis de Montglat* [1635–1668], Mi. iii. 5, P. ii. 49–51. "Offrent des renseignements précieux."

29. *Mémoires du Duc de la Rochefoucauld* [1630–1652]. "Ont un grand air de sincerité. Bayle les mettait au-dessus des commentaires de César" (Mély-Janin).

30. *Mémoires d'Omer Talon* [1630–1653], Mi. iii. 6, P. ii. 60–63. "Utiles, dignes d'un grand magistrat et d'un bon citoyen" (Voltaire).

31. *Mémoires de P. de la Porte* [1624–1666], Mi. iii. 8, P. ii. 59. "Confident des intrigues d'Anne d'Autriche" (Lalanne).

TABLE II.

GENEALOGICAL STEM OF THE RICHELIEU FAMILIES.

(*b.*, *m.*, *d.*, stand respectively for *born*, *married*, *died.*)

François du Plessis, Seigneur de Richelieu, *b.* 1548; *m.* Suzanne de la Porte; Grand Provost of France, 1578; *d.* 1590.

- Henri, killed in a duel by the Marquis de Thémines.
- Alphonse Louis, Bishop of Luçon, 1600; Archbishop (*a*) of Aix, 1626; (*b*) of Lyon, 1629; Cardinal, Grand Almoner of France, 1632; *d.* 1653.
- Armand Jean, "the great Cardinal"
- Nicole; *m.* Urbain de Maillé, Marquis de Brézé, *d.* 1635.
  - Armand de Maillé Brézé, Duke de Fronsac and de Caumont, Admiral of France; *b.* 1619; *d.* 1646.
- Françoise, *b.* 1578; *m.* René de Vignerod, Seigneur de Pontcourlay, *d.* 1675.
  - Marie Madeleine de Pontcourlay, *b.* 1604; *m.* 1620, Antoine du Roure, Marquis de Combalet; Duchess d'Aiguillon, 1638; *d.* 1675.
  - IV. Marquis de Pontcourlay; *m.* Françoise de Guémadeuc.
    - Armand Jean de Vignerod, Duc de Richelieu, Général des Galères; *m.* Anne Marguerite d'Acigné; *b.* 1696; *d.* 1788.
      - IV. Duke de Fronsac.
        - Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, Duke de Richelieu, *b.* 1766; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1815 *d.* 1822.
    - *Four other children.*

TABLE III.

DIVISION OF FRANCE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES DURING THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

	Generalities,* with the Number of Elections or Corresponding Divisions.	Approximative Number of Parishes.	Approximative Amount of the Population.	Forming Part of the following Provinces.	Corresponding to the Present Departmental Subdivision.
"Pays d'Élections," subjected to personal taxation, and were taxed by the officers of the Crown.	Alençon ... 9.	1270.	400,000.	Part of Normandy.	Orne; arrondissements of Bernay (Eure), Falaise (Calvados).
	Amiens..... 6.	1260.	519,500.	Picardy.	Somme, and part of Aisne.
	Bordeaux ... 7.	1423.	1,000,000.	Part of Guyenne and Gascogne.	Gironde, Lot-et-Garonne, Landes, Dordogne, arrondissement of Condom (Gers).
	Bourges..... 5.	832.	400,000.	Berry.	Cher, Indre, canton of La Charité (Nièvre).
	Caen ..... 9.	1426.	500,000.	Part of Normandy.	Manche, arrondissements of Caen and Vire (Calvados).
	Châlons..... 9.	2257.	600,000.	Champagne.	Haute-Marne, Marne, Aube, Ardennes.
	Limoges ... 9.	600.	585,000.	Limousin, Angoumois, part of La Marche.	Haute-Vienne, Corrèze, Charente, arrondissement of Bourganeuf (Creuse).
	Lyon ..... 3.	722.	363,000.	Lyonnais, Forez, Beaujolais.	Rhône, Loire.
	Montauban 9.	2085.	788,000.	Part of Guyenne and Gascogne, Foix, Béarn, Navarre.†	Tarn et Garonne, Lot, Aveyron, Gers, Hautes-Pyrénées, Ariége, Basses-Pyrénées.
	Moulins..... 8.	1218.	324,000.	Bourbonnais, part of La Marche.	Allier, arrondissements of Guéret, Aubusson, Boussac (Creuse).
	Orléans .....12.	1238.	607,000.	Orléanais.	Loiret, Loir-et-Cher, Eure-et-Loir.
	Paris .....20.	1970.	1,256,000 (including about 400,000 for Paris).	Part of Ile de France.	Seine, Seine-et-Oise, parts of Seine-et-Marne and Oise; arrondissements of Dreux (Eure-ett-Loir), Auxerre (Yonne), canton of Vézelay (Nièvre).

"Pays d'États" subjected to taxation on real property. Taxed themselves.	Poitiers ..... 9.	1600.	972,000.	Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge.	Vienne, Deux-Sèvres, Vendée, Charente-Inférieure.
	Riom ..... 6.	819.	400,000.	Auvergne.	Puy-de-Dôme, Cantal, arrondissement of Brioude (Haute-Loire).
	Rouen .....14.	1865.	640,000.	Part of Normandy.	Seine-Inférieure, Eure (less the arrondissement of Bernay).
	Soissons..... 7.	1197.	611,000.	Part of Ile de France and Brie.	Aisne, part of Marne and Seine-et-Marne.
	Tours.....16.	1563.	1,069,000.	Touraine, Anjou, Maine.	Indre-et-Loire, Maine-et-Loire, Sarthe, Mayenne.
	Aix.....24 "vigueries." ◊	648.	639,000.	Provence.	Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, Basses-Alpes.
	Dijon .....23 "recettes."	2432.	806,000.	Bourgoyne, Bresse.	Côte-d'Or, Saône-et-Loire, Ain, arrondissements of Auxerre and Avallon (Yonne).
	Grenoble‖... 6 "élections."	990.	543,000.	Dauphiné.	Isère, Hautes-Alpes, Drôme.
	Montpellier, 11 "recettes."	1582.	641,000.	Part of Languedoc.	Ardèche, Hérault, Lozère, Gard, arrondissements of Puy and Yssengeaux (Haute-Loire).
	Rennes ..... 9 "évêchés."	1445.	1,655,000.	Brittany.	Ille-et-Vilaine, Côtes-du-Nord, Morbihan, Finistère, Loire-Inférieure.
	Toulouse ...11 "recettes."	1130.	1,000,000.	Part of Languedoc.	Haute-Garonne, Aude, Tarn.
	Total.	31,572.	16,318,500.		

* The name of *généralité* was given to the territorial arrangements made from a financial point of view for the assessment and collecting of the taxes. The *élections*, or groups of persons *elected* to fix the taxes and provide for their due payment, were subdivisions of the *généralités*.

† Béarn, Navarre, and the Countship of Foix belonged to the financial Bureau of Montauban only as a matter of order. They paid the tax on real property, and had a special administration.

◊ The administrative districts were so called, because the chief representative of the Crown was the *viguier* (L. *vicarius*).

‖ Grenoble, although subjected to the tax on real property, enjoyed the privileges of the "pays d'élections."

TABLE IV.

LITERATURE.

The "Académie Française" was established July 10, 1637, by letters patent of Louis XIII.

Perpetual Secretary—Valentin Conrart.

List of Members.

FAUTEUIL.		FAUTEUIL.	
1.	P. Bardin; Nicolas Bourbon, 1637.	18.	De Serizay.
2.	P. Hay du Châtelet; Perrot d'Ablancourt, 1637.	19.	Balzac.
3.	Ph. Habert; S. Esprit, 1637.	20.	Laugier-Porchères.
4.	De Méziriac; La Motte le Vayer, 1639.	21.	Germain Habert.
5.	De Mauléon; D. de Priézac, 1639.	22.	Servien.
6.	Arbaud de Porchères; Olivier Patru, 1640.	23.	Colletet.
7.	Séguier; Bazin de Besons, 1643.	24.	Saint-Amant.
8.	Faret.	25.	Boissat.
9.	François Maynard.	26.	Bois-Robert.
10.	Ch. de Malleville.	27.	Bautru de Séran.
11.	Cauvigny-Colomby.	28.	Louis Giry.
12.	Vincent Voiture.	29.	Gombauld.
13.	J. Sirmond.	30.	J. de Silhon.
14.	Vaugelas.	31.	M. C. de la Chambre.
15.	Baro.	32.	Racan.
16.	J. Baudoin.	33.	D. Hay du Châtelet.
17.	Cl. l'Étoile.	34.	Godeau.
		35.	Bourzeys.
		36.	Gomberville.
		37.	Chapelain.
		38.	Conrart.
		39.	J. des Marets.
		40.	Montmor.

TABLE V.

RICHELIEU'S BUDGET FOR 1639.

RECEIPTS.	Livres.
Tailles (direct taxes)	43,551,045
War taxes (*étapes, quartiers d'hiver, etc.*) ...	25,600,000
Indirect taxes (*aides*, indirect taxes raised by the medium of financiers who farmed them)	31,140,871
Salt tax (*gabelle*)	
Taxes farmed (*farmes*)	
Additional sums cashed by the farmers ...	12,000,000
Miscellaneous revenue—	
Royal domains and domanial rights ...	1,146,433
Woods and forests	882,899
Allowance (*don*) made by the Church ...	2,000,000
Loans and sale of offices (*parties casuelles*)	33,334,194
Sundries (*deniers extraordinaires*) ...	23,630,387
Total	173,285,829
	172,823,000
Balance in hand	1,462,829

EXPENDITURE.		Livres.
Expenses for collecting taxes—		
Direct taxes	10,000,000	
Indirect taxes	12,000,000	40,000,000
Discounts, remittances, etc.	18,000,000	
Annuities (*rentes*) ...	20,838,000	
Salaries for imaginary offices (*offices fictifs*)	7,200,000	28,038,000
Royal household		4,500,000
Pensions and sums not accounted for (*acquits patents*)		3,270,000
War		86,100,000
Navy		3,100,000
Public works		1,600,000
Justice		3,300,000
Police		2,500,000
Foreign affairs		221,000
Post Office		75,000
Public instruction		39,000
Public charity		80,000
Total		172,823,000

TABLE VI.

THE FRENCH COINAGE DURING THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

	Weight at the Time.		Corresponding Present Weight.		Value expressed in Livres.		
GOLD.	deniers.	grains.	grammes.	centi-grammes.	livres.	sous.	deniers.
Écu sol	2	15	3	33	4	14	0
Écu couronne	2	14	3	38	4	13	0
Vieil écu	3	0	3	81	5	14	0
Double Henry	5	14	7	8	10	4	0
SILVER.							
Demi écu	14	12	17	76	2	0	0
Franc d'argent	11	1	15	0	1	7	0
Quart d'écu	17	0	8	88	1	0	0
Teston	7	10	9	41	0	19	6
Demi franc	5	12	7	50	0	13	6
Demi-quart d'écu	3	12	4	44	0	10	0

COPPER.

Sol
Liard
Double
Denier

} the *sol* was worth four *liards*, six *doubles*, or twelve *deniers*.

N.B.—To find the value in *francs*, multiply the *livres* by *two*.

TABLE VII.

The following lists may be considered as a kind of NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, *or catalogue of the principal political characters who played a part during the reign of Louis XIII.* (The dates of nomination are in parentheses).

A.—The Magistracy.

Chancellors of France, Keepers of the Seals.

Guillaume du Vair (1616, then from 1617 to 1621), Keeper of the Seals.
Claude Mangot (1617, 1621), Keeper of the Seals.
Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luynes (1621), Chancellor.
Meri de Vic d'Ermenonville (1622), Keeper of the Seals.
Louis Le Fèvre de Caumartin (1622–23), Chancellor.
Étienne d'Aligre (1624–26), Chancellor.
Michel de Marillac (1630), Chancellor.
Charles de l'Aubépine, Marquis de Châteauneuf (1630–33) Chancellor.
Pierre Séguier (1633), Keeper of the Seals; (1635–1650), Chancellor.

Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs.

Pierre Brulart, Viscount Puisieux (1617).
Nicholas Potier, Seigneur d'Ocquerres (1624).
Raymond Phélypeaux, Seigneur de la Vrillière (1626).
Claude Bouthillier, Seigneur de Pont-sur-Seine (1629).
Léon Bouthillier de Chavigny, son of the above, was named (1632) as his father's assistant.

B.—The Nobility.

Peerages existing during the reign of Louis XIII.

	Created in		Created in
Anjou (count)	1297	Angoulême (count)	1317
Artois (count)	1297	Mortain (count)	1317
Brittany (duke)	1297	Étampes (count)	1327
Poitou (count)	1316	Bourbon (duke)	1327
La Marche (count)	1316	Beaumont-le-Roger (count)	1328
Évreux (count)	1316		

	Created in
Nevers and Rethel (count)	1347
Also in 1459; then duke	1505
Mâcon (count)	1359
Berry (count)	1360
Nemours (duke)* 1404 and	1462
Alençon (duke)	1414
Foix (count)	1458
Villefranche (count)	1480
Vendôme (duke)	1514
Châtellerault (duke)	1514
Guise (duke) *	1527
Montpensier (duke)	1538
Aumale (duke)	1547
Montmorency (duke)	1551
Penthièvre (duke)	1569
Mercœur (duke)	1569
Uzès (duke) †	1572
Mayenne (duke)	1573
Saint-Fargeau (duke)	1575
Joyeuse (duke)	1581
Épernon (duke)*	1581
Piney-Luxembourg (duke)*	1576
Elbef (duke)†	1581
Retz (duke)*	1581
Halluin (duke)	1587
Ventadour (duke)†	1589
Montbazon (duke)†	1588
Beaufort (duke)	1597
Vendôme (duke)	1598
Thouars la Trémoille (duke)†	1595
Aiguillon (duke)*	1599
Rohan (duke)	1603
Sulley (duke)†	1606
Fronsac (duke)†	1608
Danville (duke)*	1610
Luynes (duke)†	1619
Lesdiguières (duke)†	1611
Bellegarde (duke)*	1619
Brissac (duke)†	1611
Chaulnes (duke)*	1621
Chevreuse (duke)*	1621
Richelieu (duke)†	1631
La Valette (duke)*	1622
Saint-Simon (duke)†	1635
La Rochefoucauld (duke)†	1622
La Force (duke)†	1637
Valentinois (duke)†	1642

C.—Chief Officers of the King's Household.

1. *Grand Almoner of France.*—Jacques Davy, Cardinal du Perron (1606)—François, Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld (1618)—Alphonse Louis du Plessis de Richelieu (1632).
2. *Grand Master* ("Grand Maître," head of the king's household).—Louis de Bourbon, Count de Soissons (1612)—Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1641).
3. *Master of the Horse* ("Grand Écuyer," generally known as *Monsieur le Grand*).—Roger de Saint Larry, Duke de Bellegarde (1621)—Henri Ruzé d'Effiat, Marquis de Cinq-Mars (1639).

* Peerages extant at the accession of Louis XIV.
† Peerages extant in 1694.

4. *Chief Huntsman* ("Grand Veneur").—Hercule de Rohan, Duke de Montbazon (1602).
5. *Chief Falconer* ("Grand Fauconnier").—André de Vivonne (1612)—Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luynes (1616)—Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse (1622).

D.—The Army.

1. *Colonel-General of the French Infantry.*—Bernard de Nogaret de la Valette, Duke d'Épernon (1610).
2. *Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons.*—Henry, Duke de Rohan (1605)—Marshal Bassompierre (1614)—Marquis de Coislin (1632)—Marquis de la Châtre (1642).
3. *Constable of France.*—Henry I., Duke de Montmorency (1593)—Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luynes (1621)—François de Bonne, Duke de Lesdiguières (1622–1626). After his death, the office of constable was suppressed.
4. *Admiral of France.*—Charles de Montmorency, Duke de Damville (1596)—Henry II., Duke de Montmorency (1612)—The Cardinal de Richelieu (1626).
5. *Marshals of France.*—François de Bonne, Duke de Lesdiguières (1609)—Concino-Concini, Marquis d'Ancre (1613)—Gilles de Souvré (1614)—Antoine de Roquelaure (1613)—Louis de la Châtre; Pons de Cardaillac, Marquis de Thémines; François de la Grange, Seigneur de Montigny (1616)—Nicolas de l'Hôpital, Duke de Vitry (1617)—Charles de Choiseul, Marquis de Praslin; Jean François de la Guiche, Seigneur de Saint Géran (1619)—Honoré d'Albert, Duke de Chaulnes; François d'Esparbès de Lussan, Viscount d'Aubeterre (1620)—Charles de Créquy, Duke de Lesdiguières (1621)—Gaspard de Coligny; Jacques Nompar de Caumont, Duke de la Force; François de Bassompierre (1622)—Henri de Schomberg (1625)—François Annibal, Duke d'Estrées; Jean Baptiste d'Ornano (1626)—Timoléon d'Espinay, Seigneur de Saint Luc (1627)—Louis de Marillac (1629)—Henri, Duke de Montmorency; Jean de Saint Bonnet, Seigneur de Toiras (1630)—Antoine Coeffier, Marquis d'Effiat (1631)—Urbain de Maillé, Marquis de Brézé (1632)—Maximilien de Béthune, Duke de Sully (1634)—Charles de Schomberg, Duke d'Halluin (1637)—Charles de la Porte, Duke de la Meilleraye (1639)—Antoine, Duke de Gramont (1641)—Jean Bap-

tiste de Budes, Count de Guébriant; Philippe de la Mothe Houdancourt (1642).

E.—The Church.

1. *Archbishopric of*—
   Aix.* Paul Hurault de l'Hôpital (1598)—Gui Hurault de l'Hôpital (1623)—Alphonse Louis du Plessis de Richelieu (1626)—Louis de Bretel (1630).

Suffragan Bishops—
   Apt. Jean VI., Pélissier (1607)—Modeste de Villeneuve des Arcs (1630).
   Fréjus. Barthélemy III. de Camelin (1596)—Pierre VI. de Camelin (1637).
   Gap. Charles Salomon Duserre (1598)—Artus de Lionne (1637).
   Riez. Charles de Saint-Sixte (1598)—Guillaume II. Alleaume (1617)—Gui Bentivoglio (1622)—François II. de la Fare (1625)—Louis Doni d'Attichy (1628).
   Sisteron. Toussaint de Glandèves de Cujes (1607).

2. *Archbishopric of*—
   Albi (was a bishopric till 1678). Alphonse II. d'Elbène (1608)—Gaspard de Daillon (1635).

Suffragan Bishops—
   Cahors. Siméon Étienne de Popian (1601) — Pierre Habert (1627)—Alain de Solminihac (1636).
   Castres. Jean VI. de Fossé (1583)—Jean VII. de Fossé (1632).
   Mende. Charles de Rousseau (1609)—Daniel de la Mothe du Plesis-Houdancourt (1625)—Sylvestre de Cruzy de Marcillac (1628).
   Rodez. François II. de Corneillan (1582)—Bernardin de Corneillan (1614)—François III. de Corneillan (1636).
   Vabres. François II. de la Valette (1622).

3. *Archbishopric of*—
   Arles. Gespard du Laurent (1603)—Jean Jaubert de Barraut (1630).

Suffragan Bishops—
   Marseilles. Jacques Turricella (1604)—Arthur d'Espinay (1618) — Nicolas II. Coeffeteau (1621) — François de Loménie (1624)—Eustache Gault (1639)—Jean Baptiste II. Gault (1642).
   Orange. Jean VI. de Tulles (1608)—Jean Vincent de Tulles (1640).

* Now joined to Arles and Embrun.

Saint Paul-trois-Châteaux. Antoine VI. Ducros (1599)—François Adhémar de Monteil de Grignan (1630).
Toulon. Gilles de Septres (1599)—Auguste de Forbin (1628)—Loyac (1638)—Jacques II. Danès de Marly (1640).

4. *Archbishopric of*—
Auch. Léonard de Trapes (1597)—Dominique de Vic (1629).

Suffragan Bishops—
Aire. Philippe de Cospéan (1607)—Sébastien Bouthillier (1623)—Gilles Boutant (1620).
Bayonne. Bertrand II. d'Échaus (1598)—Claude de Rueil (1622)—Henri de Béthune (1626)—Raymond de Saint-Genès (1630)—François Fouquet (1637).
Bazas. Jean VI. Jaubert (1610)—Nicolas de Grillet (1631)—Henri Listolfi Maroni (1633).
Saint Bertrand (*Comminges*). Urbain de Saint Gelais (1580)—Gilles de Souvré (1616)—Barthélemy de Donadieu de Criest (1623)—Hugues II. de Labatur (1637).
Conserans. Jérôme de Langue (1595)—Octave de Bellegarde (1614)—Bruno Ruade (1623).
Dax. Jean Jacques Durault (1597)—Philippe Durault (1623)—Jacques Desclaux (1639).
Lectoure. Léger de Plas (1599)—Jean III. d'Estresse (1635).
Lescar. Jean VII. de Salette (1609)—Jean VIII. Henri de Salette (1632).
Oléron. Arnaud VI. de Maytie de Mauléon (1599)—Arnaud VII. de Maytie (1620).
Tarbes. Salvat II. d'Hiarse (1602).

5. *Archbishopric of*—
Avignon. François Étienne Dulci (1609)—Marius Ficonardi (1624).

Suffragan Bishops—
Vairon. Guillaume IV. Geyssolm de Cromnes (1584)—Michel Dalmeras (1629)—Joseph Marie Suarez (1633).
Valence. Pierre André de Gélas de Léberon (1624).
Viviers. Jean VII. de l'Hostal (1573)—Louis François de la Baume de Suze (1621).
Nîmes. Pierre III. de Valernod (1598)—Claude de Saint-Bonnet de Toiras (1625)—Antoine Denis Cohon (1632).
Montpellier. Pierre VII. Fenouillet (1607).

6. *Archbishopric of*—
Besançon. Ferdinand de Rye (1586)—François III. de Rye (1636)—Claude IV. d'Achey (1637).

Suffragan Bishops—

Belley. Jean Pierre Camus (1608)—Jean V. de Passelaigne (1629).

Bâle. (*Switzerland*).

Lausanne. (*Switzerland*).

7. *Archbishopric of—*

Bordeaux. François IV., Cardinal d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (1599)—Henri II. d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (1629).

Suffragan Bishops—

Agen. Claude de Gélas (1609)—Gaspard de Daillon (1631)—Barthélemy d'Elbène (1635).

Angoulême. Antoine III. de la Rochefoucauld (1608)—Jacques II. du Perron (1637).

Condom. Jean IV. du Chemin (1581)—Antoine II. de Cous (1616).

Luçon. Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu (1607)—Aimeric de Bragelonne (1624)—Pierre III. Nivelle (1637).

Périgueux. Jean VI. Martin (1600)—François II. de la Béraudière (1614).

Poitiers. Geoffroi de Saint Belin (1579)—Henri Louis Châteignier de la Roche-Pozay (1611).

Maillezais, afterwards La Rochelle. Henri I. d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (1570)—Henri II. d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (1623)—Henri III. de Béthune (1630).

Saintes. Nicolas le Cornu de la Courbe (1576)—Michel II. Raoul (1618)—Jacques Raoul (1631).

Sarlat. Louis II. de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1602)—Jean V. de Lingendes (1639).

8. *Archbishopric of—*

Bourges. André II. Frémyot (1603)—Roland Hébert (1622)—Pierre VIII. de Hardivilliers (1631).

Suffragan Bishops—

Clermont. Antoine III. Rose (1609)—Joachim d'Estaing (1614).

Limoges. Henri de la Marthonie (1587)—Raimond de la Marthonie (1618)—François I. de la Fayette (1628).

Le Puy. Jacques I. de Serres (? 1595)—Just de Serres (1621)—Henri Cauchon de Maupas du Tour (1641).

Saint Flour. Charles II. de Noailles (1610).

Tulle. Jean V. Ricard de Genouillac de Vaillac (1599).

9. *Archbishopric of—*

Cambrai. Jean VIII. Richardot (1610)—François I. Buisserat (1614)—François II., Vanderburch (1615).

Suffragan Bishops—

ARRAS. Hermann Ottemberg (1611)—Paul Boudot (1626) —Nicolas II., Dufiff (1635).

SAINT OMER. Jacques II. Blaze (1600)—Paul Boudot (1618) —Pierre Saunet (1628)—Christophe I. de Morlet (1632) —Christophe II. de France (1634).

NAMUR (*Netherlands*).

TOURNAI (*Netherlands*).

10. *Archbishopric of—*

EMBRUN. Honoré du Laurens (1600)—Guillaume IX. d'Hugues (1612).

Suffragan Bishops—

DIGNE. Antoine IV. de Boulogne (1602)—Louis I. de Boulogne (1616)—Raphael de Boulogne (1628).

GLANDÈVE. Clément Isnard (1593)—Octave Isnard (1612) —René le Clerc (1627).

GRASSE. Étienne II., le Maingre de Boucicault (1604)— Jean V. de Grasse de Cabres (1625)—Jean VI., Guérin (1628)—Scipion de Villeneuve (1633)—Antoine II., Godeau (1636).

NICE (*Italy*). François III., Rosini (1601)—Pierre François Mallet (1622)—Jacques Marengi (1635)—*Now suffragan of the Archbishopric of Aix.*

SENEZ. Jacques Martin (1601)—Louis Duchaîne (1623).

VENCE. Pierre VII., Du Vair (1601)—Antoine II., Godeau (1638).

11. *Archbishopric of—*

LYON. Claude I. de Bellièvre (1604)—Denis Simon, Cardinal de Marquemont (1612)—Charles III., Miron (1626)— Alphonse-Louis du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu (1628).

Suffragan Bishops—

AUTUN. Pierre IV., Saunier (1588)—Claude de la Magdelaine (1621).

CHÂLON. Cyrus de Thiard de Bissy (1594)—Jacques II. de Neuchèze (1624).

DIJON *was created in* 1731.

LANGRES. Charles II. de Pieusse d'Escars (1571)—Sébastien Zamet (1615).

MÂCON. Gaspard Dinet (1600)—Louis II., Dinet (1621).

SAINT-CLAUDE *was created in* 1742.

12. *Archbishopric of—*

NARBONNE. Louis II. de Vervins (1600)—Claude de Rebé (1628).

Suffragan Bishops—

Agde. Bernard IV. du Puy (1578)—Louis I. de Valois-Auvergne (1612)—Balthazar de Budos (1622)—Fulcran de Barrez (1630).

Alais *was created in* 1694.

Beziers. Jean IV., Cardinal de Bonzi (1596)—Thomas II. de Bonzi (1621)—Clément de Bonzi (1628).

Cascassonne. Christophe de l'Estang (1603)—Vital de l'Estang (1621).

Lodève. Charles de Lévis de Ventadour (1604)—Gérard de Robin (1607)—François I. de Lévis-Ventadour (1612)—Jean VI. de Plantavit de la Pause (1625).

Perpignan (*formerly* Elne). Antoine II. Gallart (1609)—François V. de Villavicenzio (1613)—Frédéric Comet (1617)—Raymond VIII. d'Ivorra (1617)—Raphael II. de Riphos (1618)—François VI. de Saint-Just (1621)—Pierre V. Magarola (1622)—François VII., Lopez de Mendoça (1627)—Grégoire Parcero (1630)—Gaspard Prieto (1636)—François VIII., Perez de Roig (1638).

Uzès. Louis de Vigne (1601)—Paul Antoine de Fay-Perrault (1624)—Nicolas II., Grillet (1633).

13. *Archbishopric of*—

Paris. Henri, Cardinal de Gondi (1598)—Jean François de Gondi (*last bishop*, 1622 ; archbishop in 1623).

Suffragan Bishops—

Blois *was created in* 1697.

Chartres. Philippe II. Hurault de Cheverny (1598)—Léonor d'Étampes-Valençay (1621)—Jacques Lescot (1641).

Meaux. Jean XVI. de Vieuxpont (1603)—Jean XVII. de Belleau (1624)—Dominique I., Séguier (1637).

Orléans. Gabriel de l'Aubépine (1604)—Nicolas de Netz (1631).

14. *Archbishopric of*—

Reims. Louis III. de Lorraine, Cardinal de Guise (1605)—Guillaume V., Giffard (1623)—Henri III. de Lorraine-Guise (1629).

Suffragan Bishops—

Amiens. Geoffroy II. de la Marthonie (1577)—François IV., Lefèvre de Caumartin (1618).

Beauvais. René-Potier de Blancménil (1594)—Auguste-Potier de Blancménil (1616).

Boulogne. Claude Dormy (1600)—Victor le Bouthillier (1628)—Jean Dolce (1633).

Châlons-sur-Marne. Côme-Clausse de Marchaumont (1575)—Henri Clausse de Fleury (1624)—Félix III., Vialar de Herse (1640).

Laon. Godfroy de Billi (1601)—Benjamin de Brichanteau (1612)—Philibert de Brichanteau (1620).

Noyon. Charles II. de Balzac (1596)—Henri de Baradat (1626).

Senlis. Antoine Rose (1602)—François, Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld (1610)—Nicolas Sanguin (1623).

Soissons. Jérome Hennequin (1585)—Charles II. d'Hacqueville (1619)—Simon II., Le Gras (1624).

15. *Archbishopric of—*

Rouen. François I., Cardinal de Joyeuse (1605)—François II. d'Harlay (1615).

Suffragan Bishops—

Avranches. François de Péricard (1588)—Charles Vialart de Saint-Paul (1640).

Bayeux. Jacques d'Angennes (1606).

Coutances. Nicolas II. de Briroi (1589)—Nicolas III., Bourgoing (1623)—Léonor I., Goyon de Matignon (1625).

Évreux. Guillaume VII. de Péricard (1608)—François I. de Péricard (1613).

Lisieux. François Rouxel de Médavy (1600)—Guillaume VII., Du Vair (1618)—Guillaume VIII., Alleaume (1622)—Philippe Cospéan (1636).

Séez. Jean VI., Bertaut (1606)—Jacques II., Suarez (1611)—Jacques III., Camus (1614).

16. *Archbishopric of—*

Sens. Jacques Davy, Cardinal du Perron (1606)—Jean IV., Davy du Perron (1618)—Octave de Bellegarde (1623).

Suffragan Bishops—

Auxerre. François III. de Donnadieu (1600)—Gilles de Souvré (1626)—Dominique Séguier (1632)—Saint-Marc (1637)—Pierre IX. de Broc (1640).

Nevers. Eustache du Lys (1606).

Troyes. René de Breslay (1604)—François du Houssay (1641).

Clameci (*Bishop of* Bethléem, *in partibus*). Jean IX. de Clèves (1615)—André de Sauzai (1624).

17. *Archbishopric of—*

Toulouse. Louis de Nogaret d'Épernon, Cardinal de la Valette (1613)—Charles de Monchal (1627).

Suffragan Bishops—

Lavaur. Claude du Vergier (1606)—Charles François d'Abra de Raconis (1639).

Lombez. Jean IV., Daffis (1598)—Bernard II., Daffis (1614)—Jean V., Daffis (1628).

Mirepoix. Pierre V., Bonsom de Donnaud (1587)—Louis de Nogaret d'Épernon (1630).

Montauban. Anne de Murviel (1601).

Pamiers. Joseph d'Esparbès de Lussan (1608)—Henri de Sponde (1626)—Jean V. de Sponde (1642).

Rieux. Jean V. de Berthier (1603)—Jean Louis de Berthier (1620).

Saint Papoul. François I. de Donnadieu (1608)—Louis de Claret (1627)—Bernard V., Despreutz (1636).

18. *Archbishopric of—*

Tours. François II. de la Guesle (1597)—Sebastien Dori Galigaï (1616)—Bertrand d'Eschaux (1617)—Victor le Bouthillier (1641).

Suffragan Bishops—

Aleth (*afterwards* Saint Malo). Étienne de Polverel (1607)—Nicolas II., Pavillon (1637).

Angers. Charles I. Miron (1587)—Guillaume VI. de la Varenne (1616)—Charles Miron (1622)—Claude de Rueil (1628).

Dol. Antoine Révol (1606)—Hector Douvrier (1630).

Le Mans. Charles II. de Beaumanoir de Lavardin (1601)—Emmeric Marc de la Ferté (1637).

Nantes. Charles II. de Bourgneuf de Curé (1598)—Henri V. de Bourgneuf (1617)—Philippe II. de Cospéan (1622)—Gabriel de Beauvau de Rivarennes (1636).

Quimper. Charles du Liscoët (1583)—Guillaume III. le Prestre (1614)—René du Louet (1642).

Rennes. François I., Lachiver (1602)—Pierre V., Cornullier (1619)—Henri de la Mothe-Houdancourt (1641).

Saint-Brieuc. Melchior de Marconnay (1601)—André II. de la Porte (1618)—Étienne II. de Villazel (1631)—Denis de la Barde (1641).

Saint-Pol de Léon. Roland II. de Plessis-Bardoul (1562)—René de Rieux (1618)—Robert Cupif (1637).

Tréguier. Adrien d'Amboise (1604)—Pierre V. Cornullier (1616)—Gui Champion (1620)—Noël des Landes (1636).

Vannes. Jacques III. Martin (1599)—Sébastien II. de Rosmadec (1622).

19. *Archbishopric of*—
VIENNE. Jérôme de Villars (1599)—Pierre VI. de Villars (1626)—*Was suppressed in* 1790.
Suffragan Bishops—
DIE. *United to that of Valence till* 1687—*Became suffragan of Avignon.*
ANNECY (*Savoy*).
GRENOBLE. Jean III. de Saint-Vallier (1607)—Alphonse de la Croix d'Ornacieu (1619)—Pierre II., Scarron (1621).
MAURIENNE (*Savoy*).
VALENCE. *See Archbishopric of* AVIGNON.
VIVIERS. *Became suffragan of Avignon.*
20. *Archbishopric of*—
TRÈVES (*Germany*).
FRENCH *Suffragan Bishops*—
METZ. Anne des Cars, Cardinal de Givry (1608)—Henri III. de Bourbon-Verneuil (1612)—*Now suffragan of the Archbishopric of Besançon.*
TOUL. Jean VII. des Porcellets de Maillane (1608)—Nicolas François de Lorraine, Cardinal de Vaudemont (1625)—Charles Chrétien de Gournay (1636)—*This bishopric was suppressed in* 1790.
VERDUN. Charles II. de Lorraine Chaligny (1610)—François de Lorraine (1623)—*Now suffragan of the Archbishopric of Besançon.*

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